Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur

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ENGLAND TODAY—I.

BY THE EDITOR

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IT was the first large dinner party that had been given in the famous old castle, if not, indeed, the first given in any great country house in England, since the real magnitude of the war was realized. The perfectly proportioned room was as impressive as ever and the noble earls, looking out from their gorgeous frames, were no less proud and splendid than they had been for hundreds of years, but the doors had not swung upon their hinges in months and the atmosphere was damp and chill; and the ladies, all in black, shivered. In addition to them, and the host and hostess, there were present three peers of the realm, two leaders of the Commons, a Colonel and a Captain in khaki, a mighty huntsman of old, the young scion of his house, returned for the evening from his school of aviation, a highly distinguished editor of marked Tory proclivities and the inevitable Americans. The dinner was slow in serving, since only a decrepit gardener, brought in for the occasion, and a consumptive lad, unfit for military service, remained from the accustomed horde of manservants. Two of the younger ladies, facing each other, were noticeable—one, obviously American born, for her beauty; the other, no less surely English from undiluted stock, for her loveliness. They differed from the others only in that the eyes of the former flamed with indignation whenever the Government of her native land was mentioned and

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that the countenance of the other bore an expression of glorified sadness. The young American lady was tense in her efforts at self-restraint; the young English lady had heard but the day before of the wounding of her husband and the killing of her eldest brother—the third of five to go. Both held their heads high.

The conversation was continuous but modulated to an unusual degree. Spasmodic efforts to depart from the all-absorbing topic, proving unavailing, were sighfully abandoned and the talk became a congeries of bits of private information from the West Front, the Balkans, Egypt, India, the War Office, Northcliffe, Lloyd George, Mrs. Asquith, *et al.* There was no laughter. When the ladies had gone and the chairs had been drawn closer together the distinguished editor spoke inquiringly and very seriously, though most courteously, of America. The official attitude of her Government he believed they understood.

"I don't understand it," interjected the noted huntsman. "That is, unless what I read in a Manchester paper today is correct."

"And what was that, pray?"

"It said that, in dealing with President Wilson, it is safer to be inhuman than illegal."

"No London journal would have printed that," remarked the editor, quietly.

"No," growled the other, "you are all under orders to wound no tender sensibilities. Even Northcliffe, who God knows is outspoken enough respecting the British, has given explicit directions that not a word in criticism of the American Government shall appear in any of his papers. Is it a fact, as I have heard, that you all received a hurry call to make no comment on 'Too proud to fight'?"

The host made a gesture of impatience.

"I am sorry," the speaker added quickly, and said no more.

"What I had in mind," evenly continued the editor, ignoring the interruption and turning to the American, "related to your observation before dinner to the effect that no outcome of this war could be more calamitous to civilization than a possible estrangement through misunderstanding of the two great English-speaking peoples. I earnestly coincide with that view. Your administrations, like our cabinets, come and go, but the race must be unified at least in spirit if

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liberty is to be saved to the world. I am glad to accept your judgment that, except among those of German birth or descent, American sentiment is now substantially unanimous in favor of the Allies, but it seemed to take the American people a dishearteningly long time to appreciate what this war means."

"Longer, do you think, than the English?"

"Perhaps not; and I grant, as you might justly intimate, with fuller excuse. But we have come to regard your people as quicker than ours, quicker particularly in resentment, if not at wrongdoing, at violations of the spirit of humanity. Gratifying, then, as was the prompt and general denunciation by your Press of the wanton assault upon Belgium, we have never been able to understand why your all-powerful Public Opinion induced no official protest."

"Especially against breaking the Hague Conventions," someone interposed.

"No, I did not say that. We discussed that point thoroughly this afternoon and I agree with our friend that Germany did not technically violate a Hague Convention when she entered Belgium. I surmise, however," turning to the American and smiling somewhat whimsically, "that among those whom you have seen since you have been here you have found few of that opinion."

"Within the Government, more than one; outside the Government, none. The like, I may add, is substantially true of America. The answer to your question, I suspect, is that our Public Opinion, as you call it, was bewildered at the moment and only too willing to leave the responsibility upon the shoulders of the Executive. Whether he acted rightly from the standpoint of humanity is a matter of opinion, but there can be no question that he acted conscientiously for what he believed to be the best; and it is only fair to say that like outrages have been perpetrated the world over and many times, notably in Armenia, without evoking protest from either Great Britain or the United States. A protest then, however praiseworthy and however helpful it might have proved, clearly would have been contrary, not conformable, to the precedents of both nations."

"But the *Lusitania?*"

"The utmost that an American can say, from his sense of humiliation and shame, of that infamy, is that judgment has been rendered and still awaits enforcement. I cannot speak

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of it. May I be permitted to change the subject with a question?"

"Assuredly, yes; our mutual interests have suffered too much already from lack of candor."

"And of communication?"

"Yes."

"Chiefly in consequence of an unwise censorship?"

"Partly, no doubt."

"My question then is this: Assuming that America is now fully aroused and no less fully in sympathy with England in the great struggle for freedom whose burden from now on she must bear in the largest measure; ignoring the past entirely and looking the present squarely in the face, what would you have us to do in addition to what we are doing?"

"Why not join forces?"

"Upon what defendable pretext consistent with observance of international law?"

"I cannot say offhand."

"There is none," interpolated the Commons leader convincingly.

"And are you sure that you would consider it advantageous to have the United States enter the war at this time in any case?"

"I frankly could not answer that question without very grave consideration of many phases of the situation. But we are wandering far from the original point which you raised. Now let me ask: Do you find among the English of whatever class the slightest feeling against the American people because of the attitude of their Government towards us in the war?"

"None whatever."

"And is not that a gratifying fact?"

"It is more than a gratifying fact; it is an augury of glorious advancement of true democracy; but in this terrific personal stress when perspectives necessarily go by the board it puzzles me."

"Perhaps," suggested the gentle-featured old nobleman on the left who had listened intently and, so it seemed, somewhat amusedly, "I can explain. The truth is that, after no little travail, we have managed to differentiate between your Government and your people. We try to regard your official acts with tolerance, even though, as in your last Note,

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your language seemed needlessly and, when compared with that addressed to those whom we have come to regard as common enemies—the enemies of all liberty-loving peoples —unduly harsh and menacing, but we have dismissed from our minds any suspicion of infidelity to their ideals on the part of the American people. But in such circumstances there must always come a test. Under our more elastic system it takes place instantly; under your written Constitution, at stated intervals. If this war should continue, as I fear it must, for another year or more, America will be put to the proof in November next. Your country then will have to pronounce the verdict, regardless of all minor considerations, upon this one vital issue: Are we Anglo-Saxons, we professed disciples and upholders of Democracy against Autocracy, brothers, or are we not? "

" And how can that be done? "

The old gentleman hesitated, the muscles of his face twitching. Then he said with impressive solemnity:

" As you are aware, I am a friend of America. I know her people as few Englishmen know them. But I have to say, with the perfect frankness which I feel is warranted and with all the power of earnestness and sincerity at my command, that the only way in which America can regain her own honor and the respect of her kin throughout the world is by repudiating the administration of Woodrow Wilson."

" But, sir," rejoined the American, " conditions may change. Is it not conceivable that before next November you may have occasion to change your mind; even that the course of events or a course of conduct may make it incumbent upon you to do so? "

" I am still hopeful," was the sober response, " but far from sanguine."

There was a momentary pause. The host pushed back in his chair.

" I think, gentlemen," he said, " that we now should join the ladies."

There was no dinner party in the hardly less famous house on the East Coast, for the most excellent reason that there remained only one servitor to cook and two to serve. But those domiciled over the week-end comprised two American-born ladies of title, the sister of a former viceroy, an

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American girl in a nurse's uniform worn to a shadow of her former self, a cheery wounded lad from the trenches, the visiting Americans,—and the Vicar and his wife dropped in. It was a sober, though hardly doleful, little gathering, but the atmosphere was surcharged with that peculiar tensity, already remarked, which seems to have possessed all England. Again the question was raised as to America's understanding of the cataclysmic nature of the war and again the answer was made that time had been required for comprehension. By way of illustration and in hope possibly of mitigating the depressing tautness, the familiar apocryphal story was told of the old backwoodsman who, when first informed of the raging conflict upon a rare visit to the New England village store, turned his eyes to the window and remarked judicially, "Well, they've got a good day for it." A slight hush followed the simple climax and then first one, then another, then all together began to laugh fitfully, then convulsively. The Vicar's wife was the first to regain partial self-control, but for only a few seconds, when again she was drawn into the vortex of seeming hilarity. It became a riot of the emotions. They could not stop. The tears rolled down their cheeks unchecked and unheeded. In utter amazement the relator implored his hostess to tell him what he had done.

"Done?" she ejaculated between her half sobs. "Done? Why, you have done the best thing in the world. You have broken the spell. You have made us laugh. And we haven't laughed in months—not one of us. Oh dear, oh dear!" and she, too, was off again.

It was more than a shock, this hysteria; it was a revelation; and it was pitiable. But when the gale had subsided each countenance took on once more the unwonted aspect of sober calm and fixed resolution which one perceives now everywhere among all classes in England. Upon the faces of the women, more markedly even than upon the faces of the men—from the Duchess to the tradeswoman, from the daughter of a peer who works in the munitions factory to the manicurist, from the middle-aged woman who drives an omnibus to the girl who takes the tickets at the railway station, from the serving maid who has invaded the sacrosanct clubs to the milliner's patterer on the street—upon each and every countenance is stamped the impress of willing sacrifice and staunchest courage.

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The clicking of needles presaged a peaceful evening in the cozy little library which was made to serve as a drawing-room for economy's sake, but the illusion was quickly dispelled. An American-born Countess stood before the fireplace, holding a newspaper in her hand.

"I suppose you have read this," she said with low distinctness, "but I have just returned from my hospital and have now seen it for the first time. It is the President's Message. Listen to this!—and she read:

> There are some men among us, and many residents abroad, who, though born and bred in the United States and calling themselves Americans, have so far forgotten themselves and their honor as citizens as to put their passionate sympathy with one or the other side in the great European conflict above their regard for the peace and dignity of the United States. They also preach and practice disloyalty. No laws, I suppose, can reach corruptions of the mind and heart, but I should not speak of others without also speaking of these, and expressing the even deeper humiliation and scorn which every self-possessed and thoughtfully patriotic American must feel when he thinks of these things and the discredit they are daily bringing upon us.

"What, I wonder—perhaps you can tell me—" she continued, "are the things that we despised 'residents abroad' are doing that, in the eyes of Mr. Wilson, bring such discredit upon our native land? It is undoubtedly true that every American man and every American woman in England and in France feels a 'passionate sympathy' for the cause which they believe to be not only righteous but as much in America's interest as in that of England or of France. The President might have gone a step further and truthfully accused us of trying in every way we can to help those who are fighting our battle. We who have incomes will soon be paying one-half in taxes willingly, even gladly, and we do not stop there. We ourselves give and insistently urge and beg others to give to innumerable funds to relieve the poor Serbians and Belgians and Poles of their terrible suffering. We were and still are proud of our countrymen and countrywomen at home for the splendid help they brought to Belgium and France, but do they realize what England, too, is doing? Do you know that our Red Cross fund alone already has passed forty million dollars and is steadily growing? And it is not merely money that we residents abroad are contributing. My two boys are in the trenches. She who sits

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there has one killed, another wounded and a third only waiting to reach the fighting age. So it is with all of us, all. No, there is no doubt of our 'passionate sympathy.'"

"But do you think," quietly asked the lady referred to, "that the President meant us at all? Legally we are British subjects."

"Thank God for that," was the vehement rejoinder. "But you as well as I have always been proud—oh, how I hate that word!—to consider and even 'call' ourselves Americans. I am no longer. It is an awful thing to be ashamed of one's country and I don't know that I am. But I am of the American Government. I hate it, hate it, as the Germans hate England. And what about that girl there who is working her young life out from six in the morning till nine at night? She is not British even under the law. She is one of thousands of Americans, men and women, here and in France who 'practise disloyalty,' whose 'corruptions of mind and heart' no laws, to the great regret of Mr. Wilson, can reach, whose splendid sacrifices to the cause of our race and civilization and humanity overwhelm him with a sense of 'humiliation and scorn' impossible to express. 'Peace and dignity of the United States!' Think of the *Lusitania* and think of that! 'Peace without dignity,' is more like it. What a glorious motto it is! Are all Americans like the President? Can't they or won't they realize what this war *is*? It is too awful, too awful!"

The taut nerves, breaking under the strain, relaxed in a flood of tears.

There seemed to be little to say.

What, then, *is* this war? A year ago, when on Christmas day Tommies and Teutons called a truce and played boisterously at foot-ball, it did not seem so bad. But now! A card was brought up late one afternoon. It bore the name of an acquaintance of thirty,—a Princeton man, whose military experience, though slight, was sufficient to obtain a Second Lieutenant's commission in a battery early in the war.

We had heard from a British officer how in the first engagement both of his superiors were killed and he had come into and since retained command of a decimated but active little force; how twice at least he had disobeyed orders forbidding reprisals and had been reprimanded; how some two months before he had been caught between the close

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lines—"gassed, you know"—and rescued by his men and how finally he had been brought to an English hospital on six months' leave for repairs to a broken jaw and other bones and, at the expiration of six weeks, was haunting the War Office for a chance to return to his old battery. He was in khaki, of course, and as lean as a racehorse, but seemingly fit except for occasional spells of coughing, for which he apologized as mere "hang-overs" of the "gassing,"—from the effects of which, incidentally, we were informed by an eminent specialist, one never fully recovers. A more zestful and restless young man could not be imagined. To a whimsical suggestion that he might be eager to return for the Christmas football game he shook his head, saying soberly: "The football days are past; it's war now all right and has been for some time; no quarter is asked and none given; we've stopped taking prisoners."

What were the relative merits of the soldiers?

"The German," he replied, "is a machine and needs a machine to fight with. Put him behind a rapid-firing gun and he is the most efficient in the world. And that is where they had us at the beginning with their sixty thousand machine guns to only six thousand all told for the Allied troops. But he has no taste for cold steel. When it comes to close quarters on equal terms Tommy Atkins is a marvel. And the Scotch! My God, man, it is inconceivable. Over and over again I have seen squads of them swing out in front of those damnable machine guns to certain death as blithely as if they were on parade in Hyde Park. It's one thing to participate in a big charge; you feel that you have a chance at any rate; and then the enthusiasm of numbers bears you on. But to be one of a dozen of whom you know in advance not one can escape except by a miracle,—that's different. And that's the Scot without a quiver. I don't say the English are not as good. All I mean is that disdain of death must have had its origin in the Highlands."

What about those reprimands? The young soldier smiled grimly and then there came into his eyes a look one does not like to see.

"Well, the first time it was like this. We were supposed to be engaged in nice, civilized warfare and, even after the Huns had done the most awful things, we were under the strictest orders to stick to Hoyle. Lord Bryce made a fine speech in Parliament against reprisals and the Government

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adopted his policy and the officers passed stern words down the line and if any chap broke over the line he was in bad. You can imagine how strict they were when I tell you that for four successive days the Germans banged away at our ambulances with particular relish and we stood there and let them gather up their wounded and never pulled a trigger. But the time came when my pal, as fine a young Englishman as God ever made, got his along with a dozen or more others, but was still able to wave that he was only wounded. Two of my boys were just lifting him into the ambulance when all three men were shot to pieces. Then I bided my time which was not long in coming. A score or so of Germans lay writhing in a heap after a futile assault and I got the range for my eighteen-pounder and waited. Sure enough in twenty minutes or so out came an ambulance with I guess a dozen soldiers as nonchalantly as you please and feeling safe as a clock, as they had every reason to feel. They got their wounded aboard and were just starting back when I blew the whole damned lot to hell and gone. Of course, I got it in the neck at headquarters the next morning, but they let our ambulances alone after that."

And the second time?

"That was different. You know, sir, I love my Tommies; by God, I love 'em and that's all there is of it; and it about breaks my heart to have to leave 'em to take in a new battery. Well, anyhow, it was a beastly little scrimmage at best, but what do you suppose those scoundrels did? Why, God damn 'em, they—but, say, did you ever see a body mangled by reversed bullets? No? Well, don't; that's all I have to say. Seven of my boys went in a heap and we were in a bad way when some fresh lads came up and gave 'em the steel. When it was over we had twenty-four white feathers on our hands quite ready to slip over to nice, comfortable quarters around here and receive bouquets and chewing-gum from Lord Haldane's friends. And, mind you, they were *my* prisoners. We found the reversed bullets in their guns all right, remember that. Well, I took one glance at that sickening mass at my feet and looked into the eyes of my boys and they looked into mine. I didn't want to get them into trouble and my chances were better than theirs anyway. All I had them do was to stand those twenty-four up in a row and then, one after another and without any particular hurry, I dropped every man in his tracks dead as a door-nail. Oh, it's war all

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right . . . . I must say," he added reflectively, " they took it very well."

How was he hurt?

" Just plain stupid, that's all. I was where I ought not to have been and got the gas. When I came to or partly to I found myself alongside a husky Hun, who was in a bad way, too. But he could still use his rifle and he whacked me over the head a few times rather feebly and then gathered up what strength he had and put my jaw out of business. That was good luck for me for I guess it was the pain that brought me around. Anyhow I got his gun away from him after some maneuvering and wriggled up on my knees and pinned him to the ground through the throat. That was the last I knew till I heard in a confused sort of way somebody say ' American ' and I opened my eyes and found myself on a cot with two of my Tommies standing there and one of them saying to the nurse ' Tike good care of 'im, miss, *'e* ain't too proud to fight.' So long as God lets me live I shall never hear words as sweet as those. But, say, there is one thing you may as well know and I swear to you I speak for every fellow from America in the bunch. There are just two men in the world I should have liked to have in line with those twenty-four. One is the Kaiser and—well, never mind who the other is."

So we learned what this war is.

She who arrived from Paris that afternoon was an American woman, resourceful in money, energy and tact, who has won the everlasting gratitude of the soldiers and the official recognition of the Republic of France. The elderly persons and small boys, who were performing the duties of the bewigged young men of former days in the corridor of the hotel, stood at attention before her gray face and well-worn uniform. Later she said:

" It was not until I crossed on my third trip back to France from England, since the beginning of war, that I detected any hostile feeling toward Americans. A brusque official, looking at my much viséd American passport, stiffened instantly and said: ' *Pourquoi tous ces voyages, Madame?'* I threw back my cape and showed my French Red Cross Medal! *C'est bien,'* he said, ' *mais je veux voir vos papiers.'* He examined them all—*permis de séjour, permis de circuler,* French passport, *livret de Croix Rouge, de*

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Bureau de Santé, etc., even then remaining ungracious and suspicious—first instance, in all my travelings, of official discourtesy in France. On the train en route to Paris I had a second shock. A French officer who had been reading a newspaper handed it to me, and we talked over its items. There was comment on American neutrality, and he said reflectively: "*L'histoire, Madame, va perpétuer à jamais, deux mots de nos jours. Savez vous lesquels? Ce ne sont guère 'de bons mots,' ce sont des mots infâmes. Le premier est celui du 'bout de papier' chevalier allemand, le second est le dit—on du President Américain qui se croit 'trop fier pour se battre.' Mais le sont des mots monstrueux!*"

"I did not dispute his dictum (he had not recognized my nationality), only I realized that some resolve had crystallized in my mind. Sometime later, I met a little American woman who like myself had been busy with varied kinds of war relief work which we discussed at length. Suddenly we made a curious mutual discovery. We had used the same expedient! We were both passing ourselves off as Canadians!"

She paused for an instant and concluded:

"Always on the heels of that 'too proud to fight' creed comes the recollection of a great French lady's pride in her unhappy country's fight. As she put it, '*pour nous autres la vie sert toujours comme une gamme mineure sur des notes basses.*' She had lost two sons and a brother, and her husband though saved had been dangerously wounded. Also their properties near Lille been wiped out, their fortunes were lost forever! '*Mais,*' she continued, '*il faut lutter toujours, quand même, faire encore de sacrifices, pas pour nous, mais pour l'avenir, l'avenir de nos arrière petits enfants, ce qui veut dire la liberté de la France!*'"

The foremost Cabinet Minister stood before the fireplace in his inner office late in the afternoon sipping his tea and chatting with a staff officer who had just returned from Rome. They were awaiting the arrival from the War Office of panoramic photographs, illustrating the advances of the Italian army. Meanwhile the conversation continued after a desultory fashion respecting the broader aspects of the military situation until the Minister manifested a slight impatience, to the obvious discomfort of the General.

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"Is lateness on the part of the War Office so much of a novelty?" the American caller inquired.

The Minister smiled, grimaced and scowled all in one expression and was about to make reply when the dispatch-box arrived. Due scrutiny of the photographs ensued and the officer went out into the rain.

"Well," asked the Minister, leaning back and stretching his legs towards the fire, "what do you make of it all?"

The visitor remarked that he had come to ask, not to answer, questions.

"I suppose," mused the Minister, "you find some dissatisfaction here with the general attitude of your Government?"

"Yes," was the reply, "but the complainings seem rather vague and hardly convincing."

"I know. Mutual understanding is not readily attained when one people is in the stress of mighty conflict and undergoing innumerable personal tragedies while the other is far removed, at peace and prosperous."

"That is it—the difficulty of comprehension by the one of the real meaning of such a war and by the other of the effect of geographical aloofness inducing a sense of security."

"Yes, we, that is, the Government, appreciate the difficulties of your President's position and make no complaint. Of course, the matter of the *Lusitania*—"

"I know; always and everywhere here it is the *Lusitania*. But is it not a fact that in a practical sense, however deep may be the humiliation of Americans, England has derived enormous advantage from that infamous performance?"

"You mean through the horror created throughout the world?"

"In a general way, yes. But more specifically your Government surely recognizes that our non-action respecting the murder of scores of American citizens has made your own course on disputed questions vastly easier. In other words, so long as that frightful crime remains unavenged you certainly have no cause for apprehension of any serious difficulty with the United States. You must and, of course, do know that the American people would never sanction extreme measures regarding property or trading while assassination continues unatoned for. Consequently you are free

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to treat, as it seems to us you do treat, our fervid protests against holding up our ships and the like with full impunity."

"I had not thought of that."

"Moreover, barring its beginning and ending, our latest Note not only contained nothing in the smallest degree offensive but incidentally, perhaps even significantly, was six months in the making, thus directly affording half a year for continuance of the practises complained of and tacitly, conformably to usage, another half year for responding. I suspect your Government will take the full allowance?"

"Why shouldn't we?"

"I know of no reason; and I doubt if you will hear any very loud outcries from America if you do. But what I wish to learn is whether, not as a people, but as a Government, you consider that you have any really grave cause for dissatisfaction with the course pursued by the American Administration?"

The Minister rose from his chair and paced the floor. Then he said:

"First let me ask: Is there a likelihood or a possibility of your Government prohibiting or limitating the export of munitions?"

"Not the slightest."

"Then I say no. That is all we want. We and our allies combined are rich enough, in both men and money, to win this war beyond the shadow of a doubt. All we are going to need is guns and ammunition."

"But I have heard on all sides that after April or May you will be able to furnish an ample supply for both yourselves and your allies."

"That is not the fact, and if any such impression exists in America I beg you to do all you can to dissipate it. We now have more than a million men and women doing admirable work in more than two thousand factories and we hope to increase the number greatly, but even so we shall need more and more—all, in fact, we can get."

"I infer that you do not concur in the confident anticipation expressed to me yesterday by one of your colleagues that the war will end in July, precisely as predicted by Professor Münsterberg."

"What is your own opinion?"

"Undoubtedly of as little and possibly of as much value as any I have heard. First, that while Germany can be

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made to suffer privations through the activities of your fleet, she can never be starved into submission. Secondly, that the French and English troops cannot reasonably hope to cross the Rhine in preponderating numbers."

The Minister made no sign, but asked quietly, "And then?"

"That the only sure method of winning a real triumph is, while holding a great body of the enemy to protect their West Front, to train, equip and officer, with the aid maybe of the Japanese, a mighty, irresistible Russian army. And that would require time—a deliberate dedication of at least two and probably three years to make certain the result."

The Minister sighed and said:

"I cannot admit that you are right; I do not insist that you are wrong. But," he added slowly and with the utmost seriousness, "there may appear another way"—and then after a moment he elucidated his thought with notable precision and particularity—but not for publication.

It was a most extraordinary dissertation by a no less extraordinary man.

At the close of the conversation the visitor repeated the final words addressed by a recruiting sergeant to a motley crowd on Ludgate Hill:

"And now, my lads, you want to be on the winning side, don't you? Well, for sixteen months the Germans have been trying to win and have failed. And for sixteen months the British have been trying to lose and *they've* failed. Now who's going to win?"

The Minister smiled grayly.

"It is," he said quietly, "a perfect picture of the situation."

And such, indeed, it seems to be.

The most increasingly powerful man in the Empire sat deep in his chair following intently the oral report of one of his multitude of spies, arrived by a circuitous route that afternoon from Austria. It was an admirably told account of actual conditions, intensely interesting, but long and tiring and, when the spy had gone, his employer heaved a sigh of relief.

"You are quite right," he said, continuing a conversation which had been interrupted by the arrival of the spy, "there is not a particle of feeling in England against the

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American people. In point of fact, there exists rather a sense of sympathy arising from a notion that their real attitude has been misrepresented. It is your Government only that is criticized, and that not severely by thoughtful persons who look ahead."

"And the concrete cause—"

"Is to be found in the rooted belief, constantly reiterated, that we are fighting your battle and that your Government not only treats the common enemy with the greater consideration but seems to go out of its way to annoy and harass us."

"But we have not asked anybody to fight any battle for us."

"Quite so. That is one reason why I do not share the common feeling of resentment."

"The suggestion, moreover, is frequently made that the navalism of England is no more defensible than the militarism of Germany."

"As to that, one lesson at least, it seems to me, may be drawn from this war by America. If England had not interposed, France would have been crushed and the eyes of the conqueror would have turned instantly to the Western Hemisphere. I suppose you are aware that the German General Staff had formulated plans for the invasion of the United States as complete in every detail as were their plans for invading France. But for the British fleet, at this moment your great seaboard cities, your National Capital and the entire area containing munition factories would be at the mercy of that General Staff. There is no question under the sun of that fact and there is hardly less doubt that, if Germany should win, opulent America would have to pay the great indemnity that could not be squeezed out of the exhausted Allies. Practically, therefore, it seems to me plain that at this juncture in the world's history German militarism is the living menace of America, and British navalism is her salvation. It is a point worth considering at any rate."

"And the lesson—"

"Is to be drawn from our bitter experience and from your own original policy: In times of peace, prepare for war. Because the Allies are certain to win—in time—is no sufficient reason for positively criminal negligence to insure your tremendous belongings. But can the Democratic party be relied upon to provide preparedness, as you call it,

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promptly and adequately? Does your President mean business or will he only write Notes to the Congress?"

The visitor declined to hazard a response, upon the ground that at the moment nobody could tell whether the Administration is really awake or only talking in its sleep.

THE FINANCES OF THE WAR

GREAT BRITAIN is the banker of the Allies. It is true that a remarkable and quite unexampled popular loan has recently been subscribed in France. It is also true that Russia has developed unexpected financial strength. Nevertheless, as in more than one former conflict, Great Britain is providing money for her allies and is confidently looked to as the ultimate source of the proverbial sinews of war. The fiscal condition and outlook of that country may, therefore, be regarded as indicative of the general financial state of that side of the great war; as the condition of Germany's finances is of the other side. The beginning of a new calendar year is also a convenient time to consider these conditions.

Mr. McKenna, the Chancellor of the British Exchequer, has estimated the expenses of his Government during the year which has just ended at $8,000,000,000; which is by far the largest yearly bill that any nation in history has ever had to meet. We may perhaps form our best estimate of it by noting that it is about twice the cost of our four years of Civil War. Of this stupendous sum probably $1,500,000,000 has been met from taxation, leaving $6,500,000,000 to be covered by loans, foreign and domestic. In July last a loan of $3,000,000,000 was successfully made, but another loan of equal amount will be needed to carry the Government through to April 1 next. By that time, Mr. McKenna reckons, the Government will be spending at the rate of $10,000,000,000 a year, and its revenue from taxation of all kinds will be at the rate of only $2,000,000,000. If, therefore, the war lasts for another year, from April 1, there will be need of new loans amounting to $8,000,000,000. It may indeed be that more than this will be needed, if the other nations call upon Great Britain for more aid. During the last year the United Kingdom has loaned to its allies some $2,000,000,000. How much they may need in the next year is an interesting subject of speculation. Their demands at any rate are more likely to increase than to diminish.

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How is Great Britain to meet these demands of her own and her allies' Governments? And especially, since this is supposed to be a war of exhaustion, or a contest in endurance, how does her fiscal competency compare with that of the banker of the Central Powers, Germany?

According to the most trustworthy calculations made in recent years, just before the war, Great Britain's forty-seven million people have a total income of $10,750,000,000, or $230 a head; while the sixty-eight millions of Germany have an income of $9,800,000,000, or $145 a head. Great Britain is therefore considerably the richer nation of the two. But Germany is by far the more thrifty, for before the war her people were spending only $115 a head against the $190 of the British. Thus the average expenditure was $75 a head yearly less in Germany than in Great Britain. If the British were to exercise sufficient economy to reduce themselves to the German standard of living, or of expense, they would save no less than $3,525,000,000, yearly; a sum which would go far toward meeting the extraordinary demands of the war.

But that was the German standard before the war. Now, under the stress of the conflict and its pecuniary demands, Germans have effected economies which have reduced their average expenditures from $115 to only $80 a year. If it were possible for the British to do the same they would save $110 each, or a total of $5,170,000,000 a year; or half the expenses of the Government. It may not be possible to do this. Unchangeable circumstances make it impossible for the British to live as cheaply as do the Germans. But the calculation suggests the great possibilities of thrift in the United Kingdom. Simply the abandonment of drinking habits will effect a saving of $850,000,000 a year; beside increasing by a comparable amount the productive efficiency of the nation by the diversion of the men now engaged in the liquor industry to other occupations.

It must be borne in mind, of course, that the income figures which we have quoted are those of ante-bellum years, and that they have been affected to some extent, probably unfavorably, by the war. Some 3,000,000, or one-third of the most efficient workmen of the kingdom, have been withdrawn from industrial pursuits for military service. Their places have, however, been filled with boys and women to so good purpose that the most competent authorities estimate the decrease in productive efficiency to be considerably less than

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ten per cent; a decline which is practically negligible, in view of the fact that in some respects there has been a decided increase in income since the compilation of the figures which we have quoted. Also it will not escape observation that the withdrawal of so many men has comparably reduced the cost of maintenance of the nation, their expenses now forming a part of the military expenditure.

The finances of Germany are not as well known to the world as those of Great Britain, but enough is known to make it seem exceedingly doubtful if that empire is as well prepared to endure prolonged and excessive pecuniary strain as is its rival. It is true that comparison is difficult, for the reason that the fiscal policies of the two nations are based upon exactly opposite grounds. Great Britain depends upon her ability to secure all needed supplies, of food and what not else, from abroad; a policy in which she is supported by her unquestioned command of the high seas. Germany, on the other hand, reckons upon being self-supplying, from her own domestic resources; a policy which is practically enforced upon her by her loss of sea-power. There are, of course, immense advantages in the latter system, provided that it can be successfully maintained—provided, that is, that the nation is self-sustaining and sufficient unto itself. In the present case there are increasing indications that Germany cannot permanently, or much longer, supply her own requirements, in other essential goods than food.

Again, while Germany is vastly more self-sufficient for supplies than Great Britain, she is to even a greater extent more lacking in affiliated support. Scarcely any of her colonies were ever a source of profit to her, or even self-supporting, and now she has lost them all, anyway, save one, and from it she is completely cut off, and of it she is likely soon to be deprived of so much as nominal ownership. On the other hand, Great Britain's immense and immensely wealthy colonial empire remains intact and unimpaired in prosperity. More than a dozen years ago that empire, outside of the United Kingdom, was estimated by conservative authorities to have a capital of $36,500,000,000, and a yearly income of $6,900,000,000. Those gigantic resources, considerably more than half as great as those of the United Kingdom itself, are being placed at the service of the Imperial Government with extraordinary readiness and generosity, and must constitute a potent factor in the finances

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of the war. On the whole, therefore, the new year opens with a cheerful prospect for the Allies in the prosecution of a war of pecuniary endurance. If the struggle is to be decided by such endurance, the ultimate outcome of it is scarcely to be regarded as a matter of doubt.

LEARN TO THINK NATIONALLY

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, who was the greatest of all Great Britain's Colonial Ministers, sounded the keynote of his administration in the exhortation to his fellow citizens that they should "Learn to think Imperially." They were to regard themselves, that is to say, not merely as Englishmen, or Canadians, or Australians, but as citizens of the world-embracing British Empire; and they were to devise and to support those policies which were best, not merely for England, or Canada, or Australia, but for the entire empire. Nor was this sheer altruism. Rather was it the shrewdest and most far-seeing altruism, since the good of the whole was the good of all its parts.

It is high time for us to take a leaf from Mr. Chamberlain's book. More than a century and a quarter has passed since the adoption of the Constitution made us a nation. More than half a century has passed since the ending of the last and greatest menace to the perpetuity of that nation. Yet too often there is need of the exhortation that we shall "think nationally": not as New Yorkers or as Californians, not as New Englanders or as Westerners or as Southerners, but as Americans; and that we shall consider and shall promote those Governmental policies which are best calculated to serve the welfare not merely of our own Congressional district, or State, or section of a country in which sectionalism should long ago have been forever dead, but of the entire Continental Republic.

We are told, for example, that the "Middle West" takes comparatively little interest in the question of national defense. Its cities are not open to bombardment by a hostile fleet. It has no fear that an invading army, should one ever land upon these shores, would penetrate so far as to reach its borders. It feels secure, and sympathizes little with what it regards as the semi-hysterical fears of the coast.

Now, we cannot believe that such sentiments prevail as widely as some have said. We sincerely hope that they do

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not prevail at all. We are certain that some of the most clear-headed and broad-minded of our statesmen are to be found in that very region. But because it is said so often that such ideas do exist there, it is worth while to point out that the heart of the continent is just as much interested in the security of the coast as is the coast itself. The prosperity of the West depends upon that of the East. The great producing States would suffer grievously should disaster befall the great industrial centres, or should the ports be raided and our commerce be destroyed. Illinois and Nebraska have need of New York and Boston, just as surely as the latter have need of the former. It is the commerce of the Western plains and prairies, just as much as of the Eastern cities and factories, that is to be protected by our fleet. It is the duty and it is to the interest of the great coast cities and States to see that justice and equity are done to the farmers and miners and stock-raisers of the West; and it is equally incumbent upon the West to see that the coast is secured against alien ravages. Both regions need to think nationally.

States have been known now and then to hold lightly the treaty obligations of the United States, when they have imagined them to run counter to their local interests. They have made local laws denying to aliens the rights and privileges guaranteed to them by treaties which the National Government has made and for the faithful observance of which the National Government is responsible. They have condoned the violent acts of mobs against aliens who were entitled to the protection of the Federal Government under treaty stipulations. The National Government has had to make the best of it; sometimes to pay large sums as indemnity for the lawless acts of citizens of States for which the States themselves would give no satisfaction and would pay no indemnity. Yet if such lawless acts should at any time provoke war and a foreign enemy should attack the coasts of those offending States, there would be a quick and agonized call for the National Government to come to the States' relief and to protect them from the harm which they themselves had invited. Such States need to think nationally.

We have known some churches and foreign missionary societies to deprecate "militarism." They have told us how many missionaries could be supported, or how many

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copies of the Bible could be printed and circulated in heathen parts, for the cost of a single warship. Yet whenever a "Boxer" outbreak occurs, or mission stations anywhere in the world are in danger of attack, none are more prompt and exigent than they in asking for and in confidently expecting speedy and efficient succor from the navy and army of the nation. How can that succor be given if the Government does not provide the very means which they have been opposing? They need to think nationally.

When Governor Magoon was sent to Cuba during our last intervention in that island, he said, as the result of his investigation, that the troubles which made the need of intervention had arisen through popular lack of appreciation of the collective and general benefits of good legislation. Each man wanted laws to benefit him without regard for his neighbor. We shall not give cause for intervention in our affairs, and if we should there would be none to intervene. But we ought not in any degree or respect to make the same error that we undertook to correct in the Cubans. We should unfailingly appreciate the collective benefits of our Governmental laws, treaties and administrative acts, and realize that if they are good for all they are good, in the last analysis, for each. The highest welfare of the whole Republic is the highest welfare of each component State. Learn to think not merely as individuals, nor as inhabitants of a certain city or State, but as citizens of the whole nation.

CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS? STATE OR CROWN?

Civic evolution sets up another mighty landmark. It was denoted the other day in a remark in the British Parliament, so incidental and by the way as to command no public attention, yet in fact fraught with epochal and epical significance. Mr. Montagu, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, was speaking about the fiscal necessities of the Government during the war, and the manner in which the nation was expected to meet them. Then he said:

"Every citizen ought to be prepared to put at least one-half of his current income at the disposal of the State, either in the form of a tax or a loan."

Doubtless the average hearer and reader of that speech regarded the substance more than the form. It was the magnitude of the demand upon the public purse that commanded

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attention. An income tax of fifty per cent on all incomes was a tremendous proposal. Yet there was something still more important in Mr. Montagu's remarks. This was a case in which the letter was greater than the spirit; or perhaps in which the real spirit was subtly denoted in the form of the letter.

The permanent gist of the matter is not in the call for half of all men's incomes. That is a temporary war measure. It lies rather in the reference to men not as subjects but as citizens, and to the Government not as the Crown but as the State. Hitherto in Great Britain, as still in some other lands, reference has been to "subjects of the Crown." The change from that to "citizens of the State" is a degree of evolution which amounts to revolution. Brougham once said, in speaking of the jury system, that King, Lords and Commons, the whole machinery of the State, end in simply bringing twelve good men into a box. It would be a not unworthy sequel to say that Reform bills and Franchise acts, all the progressive legislation since the Georgian era, if not since the Plantagenets, end in calling a subject a citizen, and the Crown the State.

The change is real and not merely nominal. Mr. Montagu's phrases, whether intentionally or unintentionally, were the index and record of inexorable processes which have long been going on in the United Kingdom and which have now reached their triumphant culmination. It is a fact that Englishmen are now as truly citizens as are the inhabitants of a republic. In some respects they are actually more influential as individual members of the body politic than are Americans or Frenchmen. Equally true is it that instead of the King's being able to say, as earlier English as well as French Kings could say, "*L'Etat? c'est Moi!*" the State, were it vocal, might truly say, "The Crown? it is an appanage of mine!"

In that circumstance is, obviously, the greatest possible security of the Crown, the title of which is thus made to rest upon the popular will. Subjects of a Crown might be disaffected and might rise in revolt. The security of the Crown lay in brute force, or in some skill in persuading the people to be content with their subjection. Citizens of a State choose their own form of government, and if they retain the Crown that fact is a demonstration of their voluntary preference for that form. Some day their preference may change, or it

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may not. There is all the difference in the world between a people subject to the Crown and a Crown subject to the people.

The one great contrast between citizens and subjects, between State and Crown, is in Europe, between the belligerents in the great war. In Germany all men are still subjects of the Crown. The personal sovereign is still the supreme power. He is the State. Nor can all the popular enthusiasm for the sovereign, and all the devotion to the Crown and dynasty, alter that fact. When we think of the policy of Germany, of what she is aiming at in this war, of what terms of peace she would or would not accept, we think solely and rightly of the Emperor. It is with him that the last word lies, and not with Parliament or Constitution. But when we think similarly of Great Britain we think not of George V, but of Parliament and Ministers elected by the people, with whom the last word rests. Even when we think of Russia, thought turns not so much toward the one-time Autocrat as toward the Ministers who are increasingly accountable to the popularly elected Duma.

It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that one of the prime issues of this war, then, is that between citizens and subjects, between State and Crown. On the one side, States composed of citizens; on the other, Crowns commanding their subjects. Such a contest can have only one possible ending.

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SEAMANSHIP AND THE MERCHANT MARINE

BY LINCOLN COLCORD

I

I SOMETIMES wonder, when reading the various schemes for the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, how the great shore public thinks that the spirit of seamanship is suddenly going to be rehabilitated. A merchant marine is far more than a fleet of ships; it is quite as much the men who run them, as the ships themselves; but, above all, it is the concrete expression of an extensive maritime impulse and activity in the nation at large. A non-maritime nation may suppose that if it takes the notion to build a fleet of steamers, it will have a merchant marine; but nothing could be farther from the truth. The ships must compete with the ships of other nations, and for this they must have wise legislation; they must be handled safely and successfully, and for this they must have a race of seamen to man them. Wise nautical legislation cannot come out of a non-maritime country; and, as for a race of seamen, this is a factor which cannot be created in a day or even in a generation.

In the past we had a splendid race of seamen, but it has now died out; the traditions of the sea have lapsed in those homes where once they were the sole romantic food for the ambitions of the young. So completely has the era passed by, so alien to our present ways and occupations does it seem, that it is hard for us even to imagine a day when the major activity of the land was expressed in nautical terms, when old and young lived in a world of shipping, wrapped up in a whole order of duties, affairs and purposes which have now been cast aside. Can such a situation be again brought about in full force by any decree of business or desire of democ-

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racy? The answer is that it cannot be brought about at all, in the sense in which the country at present conceives the problem; if we are to become a maritime people once more, the movement must bring itself about, as it were, through a process of slow and natural growth. To take a few city-bred boys and give them a term on a training ship does not make seamen of them, and does not tend to attract towards the seafaring profession a body of the most spirited and ambitious young men in the country. It is a grave question if, under present conditions in the nautical world, such a body of young men would ever be attracted towards the seafaring profession. These conditions must first be modified, before such a consummation is possible; and this will add still another delay to the normal growth of a sound merchant marine.

It seems to have been forgotten that the position of shipmaster on the high seas is one of positively unique responsibilities, demanding unique qualifications and powers. The popular imagination compares the shipmaster to the railroad engineer; the latter takes his train, loaded with sleeping passengers, through the night, the former steers his ship over the seas. It is felt that the master's position must in some way be comparable to a position on land bearing a superficial resemblance to it; so that his work may be spoken of in land terms and grasped in land ideas. This attitude is an unmistakable sign that we are no longer a maritime people, such as we were even fifty years ago. The present shore public does not comprehend the problem, it does not sense the values; for the truth is that the position of shipmaster is comparable to no other position in life. It cannot be put into land terms, it cannot be grasped by land ideas. The railroad engineer is held to his course by a couple of rigid steel rails; another man opens the switch for him; his running orders are strict and definite, and full responsibility for them is borne by still another man; his engine is a mechanical body, fixed and regular in its actions. But the shipmaster sails at large, his orders are general rather than specific, he bears responsibility for the acts of others as well as for his own; while his engine, a floating ship, is a free thing as a whole—the freest thing that moves on land or sea.

For the proper handling of this instrument he must be a seaman, in the widest meaning of the word; and seamanship is part of a man's personality, a quality running in his blood.

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Its reactions are instinctive; it is a sense like the sense of beauty or the sense of love; it is a special psychological state, bound up so closely with the traditions and lore of the sea, and depending so fully upon an experience with the world of waters, that any general decline in these factors cannot fail to affect the art itself. All sailors know how impossible it is for those not in true sympathy with nautical affairs to have an intelligent conception of nautical values, no matter how intelligent they may be with respect to terrestrial values and affairs. The problem is similar to that of trying to think in a foreign language; it demands more than an academic familiarity with the rules and terms. It demands the human touch of understanding, the involuntary response of knowledge and experience. All this, with reference to the nautical ideas of the shore world, is summed up for the sailor in the single word "landlubber." And this is exactly what I mean when I say that we are no longer a maritime people; we have become a nation of landlubbers.

It is popularly imagined to-day that sailors always have belonged to the irresponsible, devil-may-care class, and that to turn this class back to the sea would solve the whole problem. But those who hold such a view have failed utterly to grasp the significance of a movement wherein the whole spiritual and physical force of some of our strongest communities once flowed along maritime channels, as naturally as rivers with their tributary streams rising far back in the foothills flow into the sea. They have failed utterly to grasp the significance of that remarkable factor of the co-operative ownership of vessel property which, at the height of our maritime supremacy, extended throughout our seaboard communities. Many of the carpenters who worked in the shipyards, many of the riggers who fitted a vessel's top-hamper, many of the sailmakers who cut out her first suit of sails, owned a thirty-second or a sixty-fourth of the vessel; and the way stood open for all of them to do the same. As soon as a boy left school, his ambition was confronted with a settled scheme of co-operative ownership which proposed to take him into partnership in some capacity with the powerful course of maritime affairs. And the young men who went to sea in the ships, and who a couple of generations ago formed the backbone of our magnificent merchant marine, were far from the riff-raff of their day. They were the same young men who to-day are going to college, are entering the

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various engineering professions, are seeking an outlet for personal initiative in the field of industrialism. It was exactly along this line that the seafaring profession formerly offered them the widest scope.

To claim that the same set of circumstances obtains at present, and that a personnel such as we want will appear to man and officer our merchant marine, is both idle and ignorant. In applying land conditions to the seafaring life, in bringing the profession under the common rules of corporate control, the present day has absolutely changed the issue. Committed as we are to the principles of corporate ownership, and chimerical as it may be ever to expect a return of the old conditions of small competitive business, nevertheless there must be found some special and exceptional method of corporate management for our maritime affairs, conforming more wisely with the unique requirements of the seafaring profession, if we are to see a sound rehabilitation of the American merchant marine.

II

There was a day, within the memory of men still young, when the owners of a ship gave their master a complete and final authority over the handling of his vessel, and accepted his word upon any technical matter as the ruling of an experienced and reliable man. He was allowed great latitude; and when he disclosed incompetence, or when his judgment proved erroneous, he was promptly broken. Thus masters stood strongly and independently on their own feet; there was a pride in the profession, and a high standard of ability to be maintained. The rewards appealed to the best qualities of a man, the responsibilities brought out all that there was in him; and even the making of money, upon which the enterprise was necessarily founded, never crushed out the romance and sentiment, the sense of inward satisfaction, the reactions of a true art, which sprang from the keeping, handling and sailing of a ship under the old régime.

All this is essentially changed. To-day, the master of a steamer is nothing but a navigating officer. He takes his orders from the office, and gets the ship about from port to port; he has nothing whatever to do with her business and general nautical policy. His opinion is never asked, and counts for little if given. When orders miscarry, he must

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bear as much of the blame as can be shoved off on him, either before the court of public opinion, or at the hands of the law. If the owners of a liner choose to have her make a record run, of what account would be the protests of a master who could speak only of such irrelevant things as wind and weather and the condition of the ice fields? Nothing but money talks in these offices. An incident well known in shipping circles is significant. On a terrible night a number of years ago when a certain passenger steamer was lost, it had already begun to snow before she left the dock. Her master went into the shore office. "Gentlemen, I'm afraid it is too thick to go outside to-night," he said. "Why, Captain," was the answer, "it isn't blowing hard." "A northeaster is making up the coast," said the man who knew what he was talking about. "You cannot depend upon such a storm—it may do anything." Then some one said—some one in authority: "What's the matter, Captain, are you getting afraid?" The master looked at him. "No," he answered after a while, "I'm not getting afraid." He left the office and took his steamer to sea, into the face of a November storm without parallel. Neither the vessel nor any of her company were heard from again.

From all such circumstances, well recognized among seafaring men, it comes about with them that the very habit of independent action is undermined. There is no use in a man's butting his head more than once into a wall. A superior position has been subordinated; discipline is hard hit at the head of the line, where the blow is most disastrous. A strong pressure bears constantly upon the profession either to eliminate independent men or to crush out their spirit of independence. It would be far from my intention to criticise individual cases. There is a large body of men, for instance, in the American merchant marine, left over from the sailing ship days, who find themselves growing old, who are beyond the age of taking up a new profession, and who yet cannot afford to throw up their jobs. They are all good men; but they are not such good men as they once were, or as they still would be under a régime of free initiative. And the younger generation of seafaring men simply does not know what it means to handle a ship under a régime of free initiative. The result is a gradual decline in the spirit and fiber of seamanship. This is the problem which goes to the heart of modern unsafety on the sea.

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III

The problem in the merchant marine is analogous to that which confronts our Navy. Our departments of naval management and operation stand like two unfortunate parties to a matrimonial disaster, utterly divorced by a quarrel which never can be reconciled. The policy and general management of the Navy are, in the peculiar nature of our administrative system, entrusted absolutely to an official who, if he is not always a politician and patronage-monger, is invariably a landlubber; and this official is furthermore hampered by a confusion and general lack of powers, particularly with respect to the financial control of the Navy. On the other hand, the operation of the Navy is necessarily under the control of seamen.

The quarrel, I say, is irreconciliable. And I would without hesitation lay down the broad statement that until the landlubber element is eliminated from the situation—that is, until our administrative system is so changed that line officers have the final authority in all naval matters, and until our Navy Department is measurably freed from a financial dependence upon the whims and political influences of Congress—we cannot hope to have either an efficient Navy or a sound naval policy. Even though we had the ships, it would be quite another thing to win battles with them. A bare fleet may be well enough for diplomatic purposes; but when the bluff has been called and the action begins, it is the balance between ships and personnel, between management and operation, between policy and exigency, which determines the victory. Seamanship then assumes its proper place at the head of the line; and it is nothing but seamanship, in the true and comprehensive meaning of the term, which should control the naval situation from the Secretary of the Navy down.

In the case of the merchant marine, we have the same incongruous elements: management by landlubbers, operation by seamen. With the merchant marine there are no periods of inaction, no games of diplomacy, no bluff; the war is always on. Thus the defects in the service are constantly being brought out, and their causes show plainly enough to the candid eye. The situation might be remedied by requiring the managers of steamship companies to serve a term at sea, and acquire some experience in the exceptional work with which they have to deal; they might go before an

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examining board, and receive a certificate of seamanship entitling them to hold such and such managerial positions. I make the suggestion in all seriousness. The ship-master must show a proper term of experience, and pass the board, before he gets his papers; to permit any less, or to allow a man to command a vessel without his papers, would to-day be unthinkable. Yet with all the master's certificates and experience, the final authority over the handling of his vessel is permitted to rest with a man of whom no technical knowledge whatever is required. For the actual need, it should be self-evident that no man is competent to manage a line of steamers who has not served his time on the sea.

I am not claiming that the men of the old régime were intrinsically more wise, upright or unselfish than the men who make up the present-day business world; I am only pointing out that a definite and stringent set of circumstances operated with them in the directions of a system more beneficial to the public welfare. The individualism of pioneer days was a far different thing from the individualism of our complex modern society; and the reaction of individualism upon small competitive business conditions was, in its most important phases, diametrically opposite to its reaction upon monopolistic business conditions. In these two sets of forces there is all the difference between a responsible individualism and an irresponsible individualism, between a legitimate free initiative and an illegitimate free initiative. Thus it is a fact that the early individualism of our ship owners, expressed in terms of direct, simple and enlightened relations between owner and master, made for freedom of personal initiative all along the line; while the individualism of modern ship owners, expressed in terms of absentee ownership, banker directorship, business managership, and strictly shore ideas, makes for the crushing out of all initiative save the corporate initiative of the owning body.

IV

It is comparatively easy for us, who belong by birth and training to the old maritime régime, to exaggerate the importance of that particular phase of seafaring which we know so well. But I would disclaim all sentimentality in the consideration of these matters. The pioneer days of America have gone; the days of small competitive business have gone. The

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sailing ships have gone, taking with them into the limbo of outworn enterprises many of their traditions and the most of their tremendous lore—the detail of sails and rigging, of knots and splices, of tackles and falls, the knowledge of wind and weather, the special sense of the ship's condition under sail, the wisdom in laying out her course, the judgment in guiding her daily contest with the wind, the watchfulness in storms, the tenfold responsibility in the neighborhood of land —all that a seaman once had at his finger tips, and that easily might be compassed within an ordinary day's work on the sea. The phase has passed, and in human probability it will never appear again. The steamer holds a straight course through wind and weather; the engine room supplies the motive power; and I can see no practical need for the master of a steamer to acquire more than a smattering of the old sailing ship lore. Except in the way of culture, it would be valueless to him. The master's work is easier to-day than it used to be; he does not require his former wide and detailed knowledge to be able to perform it. And if he had never seen or heard of a sailing ship, he still might become the most capable of steamship masters.

And yet something must be found to take the place of the old hard training, though I do not quite see what it is to be. Ships and commerce have changed, but the sea remains, one of the great elemental factors which we have not been able to industrialize or even to civilize. It remains in its majestic power and freedom, in its alluring grandeur, in its dangerous caprice, ready to wreak a sudden vengeance for the presumption of man. It remains with the terrors of night, with fog and the dangers of collision, with reef and hurricane and tidal wave, with unforeseen attack, with unknown force, with unfathomable strategy. It remains with the unexpected—ever the unexpected. And to-day, as it always has been and always will be, those only are at home upon its waters who love and understand it, who sense in some degree its values, who feel when it is to be feared and when it is to be trusted, whose instincts measurably answer the silent voices of the sea.

Their true certificate is an eternal vigilance. If I were asked to put the quality of seamanship into a word, I should define it as a constant readiness for the emergency. In the emergency lies the incipient accident; and it is through the quick and proper handling of the emergency that the accident

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is avoided. The quick and proper handling of the emergency —it calls for the best that a man may bring of human character. It calls for more than efficiency or capability, for more than technical knowledge, for more, even, than experience. It calls for seamanship, a quality of the soul. And such a quality may be attained only by stern self-discipline, by a training in technicalities so arduous that action becomes involuntary and unerring, and by the sure possession of that self-confidence which springs from nothing but the free exercise of a man's personal initiative.

I have spoken of culture, of the cultural value of the old sea training; and by culture I mean something higher than refinement, elegance, or good taste. It was exactly this value which lent such dignity to the old maritime régime, which gave our seafaring men of the older generations such clear-cut personalities, such breadth and depth of character, such a Roman stamp. But these were not naturally men of an extraordinary type; their greatness was thrust upon them, as it were, by the conditions and circumstances of the life they lived. Each phase of it contributed directly to the sum-total of character, so that they broadened and deepened unconsciously, and became seamen without fully knowing what they did. Their profoundest virtue lay in that they came to honor the work for itself alone. They carried on a tradition of true pride, without which no workers are worthy and no work is well done. They kept faith with themselves, their stern and honorable taskmasters. They were sincere. But, with lessened conditions and circumstances on the sea, a man no longer is made into a seaman in spite of himself. If he would discover to-day that grasp of seamanship, and through this of character, which the older generations of seafaring men possessed, he must win it voluntarily, by a process of hard study, by deliberate thought, and by all that makes for a man's inward enlightenment.

This touches the universal problem of democracy—the constant danger, the wonderful opportunity. The old maritime régime was a close aristocracy of worth and fitness. The modern régime is a loose democracy, with all a democracy's tendency to level requirements to fit the man instead of to raise the man to fit the requirements. The sea problem is nothing but the shore problem with lights heightened and shadows darkened; in that simpler environment, cause and effect stand out boldly against an open horizon,

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against a skyline unbroken by the works of man. And the same argument, with respect to the growth of an unwise corporate control which I have advanced in the case of seamanship, may be urged with equal force for any line of business ashore. The problem everywhere is not to destroy the corporation, but to bring about a fairer and more natural form of corporate control; to cause, through corporate control, a return to certain conditions which most men agree are better for the individual and for the public welfare than those in which we now find ourselves—conditions which we have temporarily lost sight of in our thoughtless scramble for mere size and power.

I cannot but feel that the main problem, both for the seafaring profession and for democracy at large, revolves about the single question of discipline. Out of discipline grows self-discipline; out of responsibility grows wisdom. And out of our new freedom must grow a higher and truer submission, a submission to self-imposed duties, if our best hopes are not to be dashed at some rapidly approaching day. This form of submission, strange as it may appear in the outright phrase, is precisely what was produced by the old aristocratic régime which we have been discussing. And I think it yet remains to be proved that the true democracy is not to be an ideal aristocracy.

LINCOLN COLCORD.

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THE CHICAGO & ALTON CASE

A MISUNDERSTOOD TRANSACTION

BY GEORGE KENNAN

No episode, perhaps, in the career of the late E. H. Harriman has been more severely criticised, by the Interstate Commerce Commission, by certain members of Congress, and by an ill-informed part of the public, than the reorganization of the Chicago & Alton Railroad in 1899 and 1900. It excited little comment at the time, but when, long afterward, the Government began its campaign against Mr. Harriman, through the Interstate Commerce Commission, the transaction was characterized as "indefensible financing," and was described as the "crippling," "looting," and "scuttling" of a well managed and prosperous railroad by a syndicate of unscrupulous financiers in which Mr. Harriman was the "main conspirator."[1]

The Chicago & Alton Railroad, when Mr. Harriman became connected with it, was an apparently prosperous and well managed road. It had paid dividends of eight per cent on its invested capital for thirty years or more; its credit was good; and its shares of common and preferred stock were selling at from seventy-five to one hundred points above their par value. From a financial point of view it seemed to be as strong as any railroad of its class in the Middle West. Unfortunately, however, its managers had pursued an ultra-conservative policy in the matter of expenditures,

[1] Reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, vol. XII, pp. 301-303; Statement of Senator Cullom, *The Independent*, vol. 62, p. 692, Mar. 28, 1907; *Railroads: Finance and Organization*, by W. Z. Ripley, pp. 262-267.

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and had neglected, for a long time, to make necessary appropriations to cover depreciation, and to provide for extensions, betterments, replacements, and additional equipment. The road had grown old without improving in physical condition; and had become more or less incapable of rendering the service demanded by a rapidly growing and developing territory. Speaking of this state of affairs, the well-known economist, Prof. E. S. Mead, says:

> The condition of the Alton was far below that of its competitors. . . . The standards of construction were those of fifteen years before. The track was laid with steel rails, but these were only seventy pounds to the yard. The bridges were in good condition, but were too light for heavy engines. The capacity of the sidings and second tracks was inadequate to handle large increase of traffic. . . . In short, the company had not maintained a sufficient depreciation account, and its property had not been kept up to standard.

According to J. H. McClement, expert accountant, who had occasion to investigate the affairs of the company,

> It had not added one mile of road in seventeen years. It had little or no reserve capacity to conduct a larger business. Its cost of operation, per unit of traffic, was very high in comparison with similar roads. Its grades were uneconomical. Its shops and equipment were uneconomical and old. Its settled policy against the expansion of its facilities, because of declining rates, was an absolute bar to the development of the tributary country. While for twenty-five years it had paid an average dividend of 8.3 per cent upon its capital stock, the gross earnings for the year 1898 [the year before Mr. Harriman became interested in it] amounting to $6,286,000, were the lowest since 1880, and had been gradually falling since 1887, when they amounted to $8,941,000. In many respects the company was being conducted like a commercial enterprise having in view ultimate liquidation, instead of like a public carrier.

The ultra-conservative—not to say parsimonious—policy of the management, the progressive deterioration in the physical condition of the road, and the decline of $2,655,000 in annual earnings in a period of ten years, naturally created dissatisfaction and excited a feeling of uneasiness among the owners of the company's securities, and in the fall of 1898, a number of the large stockholders, actuated by a feeling of apprehension as to the future of the road, requested

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John J. Mitchell, President of the Illinois Trust Co., to open negotiations with Mr. Harriman, with a view to the sale of the property and a financial reorganization of the company.

Mr. Mitchell had an interview with Mr. Harriman in New York and represented to him that " many of the Alton stockholders were dissatisfied with the existing management; that the stock might be bought for less than the real value of the property; that if betterments and improvements were made and modern methods introduced the earnings might be largely increased; and that if control of the railroad were purchased, if funds for such betterments were provided, and if the road were developed, there would be an opportunity for a substantial profit." Mr. Mitchell also stated that he thought a majority of the Alton stockholders, if not all, would accept an offer of $175 a share for the common stock and $200 for the preferred. This, if all the stock were acquired, would make the road cost the purchasers nearly $40,000,000, a sum that would have to be paid in cash.

Mr. Harriman, who had never before thought of purchasing the Chicago & Alton, told Mr. Mitchell that he would take the matter into consideration, and ascertain as soon as possible the condition of the road. Shortly after this interview, Mr. Harriman requested Mr. S. M. Felton, a well-known expert and railroad manager, to make a thorough examination of the property, and submit a detailed report on its condition, requirements and earning capacity. Mr. Felton's report was favorable. He estimated that better management, and an expenditure of $5,200,000 for improvements and additional equipment, would enable the road to increase its earnings by at least $1,000,000 a year on the traffic then existing, to say nothing of the increased traffic that might be expected when the road should be able to afford adequate facilities to the then rapidly developing territory that it served.

Becoming satisfied that the road could be bought for less than its potential value, Mr. Harriman invited Jacob H. Schiff (of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.), James Stillman (President of the National City Bank) and George Gould, to join him in making the purchase on the terms suggested, and in providing the necessary funds for betterments and additional equipment, as well as for the refunding or retirement of the company's maturing bonds. Upon the representations made

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by Mr. Harriman, Messrs. Schiff, Stillman and Gould agreed to co-operate with him, and the four men formed a syndicate for the purchase, reorganization and recapitalization of the Chicago & Alton road.

This syndicate was ultimately made to include Morris K. Jessup, John A. Stewart (ex-Assistant Treasurer of the United States), John J. Mitchell (President of the Illinois Trust Co.) and other individuals of like character, as well as some of the leading financial houses and institutions of the country. The supposition that men and firms of such standing would join a band of " pirates " and " looters " for the purpose of " wrecking " and " gutting " the Alton is, to say the least, highly improbable. The public assumed, or was led to believe, that Messrs. Harriman, Stillman, Schiff and Gould were the sole managers and beneficiaries of the reorganization; but this was not the case. The four gentlemen named organized the syndicate, but it included about one hundred members.

In January, 1899, the syndicate purchased ninety-seven per cent of the capital stock of the Chicago & Alton Company (about 218,000 shares) and paid therefor the sum of $38,815,000 in cash. They then proceeded to readjust the accounts of the company by crediting to surplus the sum of $12,444,000, which the old managers of the road, in previous years, had taken out of current income and invested in permanent betterments. In the opinion of the new owners and their legal counsel, permanent improvements and additions to the property ought to have been charged to capital account, and not taken out of surplus earnings, which belonged to the stockholders and which might properly have been distributed in dividends. The newly elected directors, therefore, charged to capital the sum of $12,444,000 previously spent in betterments, and credited it to surplus, with a view to distributing a part of it ($6,669,000) in the shape of a 30 per cent dividend on the old stock, and so lessening the cost of the road to its purchasers.

Having thus acquired the property, and transferred the cost of previous betterments to capital account, the syndicate, which included ninety-seven per cent of the stockholders, reorganized the corporation, and elected as President, in place of Mr. Blackstone, Mr. S. M. Felton, upon whose report the road had been bought. They then recapitalized the company by issuing securities in the following amounts:

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50-year 3 per cent bonds.....	$31,988,000 [1]
50-year 3½ per cent bonds.....	22,000,000
4 per cent preferred stock.....	19,544,000
Common stock	19,542,000
Total	$93,074,000

The $31,988,000 of 3 per cent bonds actually issued were offered to all the stockholders and taken by them, pro rata, at 65, which was believed at the time and in the circumstances to be a fair rate. The purchase of these securities at a cost of $20,792,200 and the acquirement of 97 per cent of the stock of the old company, at a cost of $38,815,000, made the investment of the syndicate in the reorganized road $59,607,200. This sum was soon afterward increased by the purchase of the Peoria Northern line at $3,000,000 and the payment of $500,000 for commissions, charges, legal expenses, etc., in connection with the reorganization. This made the total investment of the new owners of the road $63,107,200.[2]

As soon as the sale of the bonds put sufficient money into the treasury, and made available the $12,444,000 of surplus created by capitalizing the sums previously spent in betterments, the new directors declared a cash dividend of 30 per cent on the old company's stock for the purpose of lessening the cost of the road to its buyers. This reduced the amount of their investment to $56,438,020.

To represent this sum, the new stockholders had in hand, for sale at the best prices they could get, stocks and bonds to the par value of $93,074,000.[3]

In order to get back the amount that they had actually put into the property ($56,438,020 as above shown) the stockholders would have to sell the bonds and preferred stock at approximately the following figures:

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[1] Forty millions in 3 per cent bonds were authorized, but $8,012,000 were held in reserve for future requirements. These eight millions were subsequently sold at market rates and the proceeds were spent on the property.

[2] It is quite possible that the syndicate did not have this whole amount invested at any one time, because some of the securities may have been sold before the transaction was completed. The figures are given in this way only for the purpose of showing how much money the stockholders put into the venture from first to last.

[3] This capitalization was increased to $101,086,800, when the reserved bonds ($8,012,000) were issued. The total issue of 3 per cent bonds was then $40,000,000, instead of $31,988,000, as here stated.

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$31,988,000 3 per cent bonds at 80..	$25,594,400
22,000,000 3½ per cent bonds at 74	16,280,000
19,544,000 preferred stock at 75..	14,658,000
Total	$56,528,400
Money invested	$56,438,020

They would then have the common stock as clear profit, and if they sold it at, say, 25, they would make about $5,000,000 on the purchase and recapitalization of the road. This would be equivalent to about 9 per cent on their total investment. They perhaps made more than this, but how much more it is impossible to determine. After the securities were distributed among the members of the syndicate, they were sold by the individual owners at various prices, and at various times between 1900 and 1907. The profit realized depended, in every case, upon market conditions at the date of sale.

Prof. Ripley states, as a fact, that the profits of the syndicate—that is, of the one hundred or more stockholders—were $23,600,000, but as he does not give his method of computation there is no possibility of testing his results. The Attorney General of Illinois figured that the syndicate made a profit of $24,648,600, but his calculations were soon discredited. Expert Accountant J. H. McClement showed that, even accepting the inordinately high prices at which the Attorney General assumed the stockholders sold, their profit was only $11,124,300. In other words, the figuring did not work out.

As a matter of fact, the computations of both Ripley and the Attorney General were mere guesses, made under the influence of a strong anti-Harriman bias. If the stockholders sold their securities at the average prices that prevailed between 1901 and 1907, they made $7,624,000. If they sold in the summer of 1903, when the control of the road was acquired by the Rock Island, they made $2,800,000. If they held on until 1907, and sold then, they lost $1,400,000. (McClement, pp. 13-14 *et seq.*) The probability is that most of the stockholders sold at the most favorable time—*i.e.*, in the first year, or the first two years, after the securities were distributed. By an Act of the New York Legislature, approved February 26, 1900, the 3 per cent bonds of the

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Chicago & Alton Railroad Company were made a legal investment for the savings banks of that State, and this immediately created a good demand for them at prices that ranged from 82½ to 94. As there is no means, however, of ascertaining when the hundred or more stockholders disposed of their holdings, or what prices they obtained for them, it is impossible to know what their profits were, and for that reason all estimates are more or less conjectural. The most that can be said with certainty is that those who happened to sell at top prices realized more than they had anticipated.

The results of the reorganization, so far as the stockholders were concerned, may be summarized in the statement that they invested $56,000,000 or $57,000,000 in the property (including the purchase of the 3 per cent bonds); expanded the capitalization by issuing new securities to the par value of $93,074,000 (excluding the $8,012,000 reserved for betterments); and finally sold these securities at prices which gave them a net profit of probably eight per cent and possibly twelve or fifteen per cent upon the cash outlay.

At the time when the road changed ownership, the series of transactions above outlined excited little if any adverse criticism. Every detail of the reorganization, including the 30 per cent dividend and the sale of the 3 per cent bonds to the new stockholders at 65, had the widest possible publicity; but nobody complained of injury or injustice. The former owners of the road were satisfied with the price that they received; the 3 per cent of the old stockholders who declined to sell their shares enjoyed the same rights and privileges that were accorded to the new stockholders; the ultimate purchasers of the new securities bought with full knowledge of the syndicate's operations, and did not complain that they had been either misinformed or misled; the governors of the New York Stock Exchange considered all the details of the recapitalization and then listed the new securities without objection or question; and, finally, the patrons of the road were more than satisfied with the lower rates and greatly increased facilities that they enjoyed under the new management.

Serious and hostile criticism of the Chicago & Alton reorganization did not begin until 1906—seven years after the Harriman syndicate bought the road. In the Fall of that year, the friendly relations that had previously existed be-

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tween President Roosevelt and Mr. Harriman were broken off as the result of a disagreement, or misunderstanding, with regard to a contribution made by Mr. Harriman to the Republican campaign fund, just prior to the Presidential election of 1904. Mr. Harriman thought that the President had failed to observe the terms of a mutual understanding with regard to the best means of promoting the interests of the party in New York; and when, in the Fall of 1906, he was asked by James S. Sherman (Chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee) to make another contribution, he declined to do so, for the alleged reason that the President had not kept faith with him. His refusal was made known, of course, to Mr. Roosevelt—probably with an unfair or inaccurate statement of the reasons for it—and the President, resenting the imputation of unfaithfulness, assumed toward Mr. Harriman an attitude of hostility, and characterized him, in a letter to James S. Sherman, as "an undesirable citizen." Five or six months later—in April, 1907—a discharged stenographer who had formerly been employed by Mr. Harriman dishonorably sold to the *New York World* an imperfect copy of a private letter written by Mr. Harriman to one Sidney Webster of New York. In this letter Mr. Harriman set forth his understanding of the campaign contribution episode, together with his reasons for believing that the President had treated him unfairly. (*New York World,* April 2, 1907). The publication of the letter led to a somewhat acrimonious newspaper controversy, in which Mr. Roosevelt denied and Mr. Harriman reaffirmed the accuracy of the statements made therein.

It may be only a chronological coincidence, but it was in the Fall of 1906, soon after the rupture of friendly relations between the President and Mr. Harriman, that the Interstate Commerce Commission, acting either on its own initiative or upon suggestion, began an investigation of the "undesirable citizen's" past activities; and it was on the 5th of April, 1907, three days after the publication of the Webster letter, that the record of the investigation was submitted to the Commission for judgment.

The official statement of facts included, of course, the Chicago & Alton reorganization, which was described by the Commission as "indefensible financing." The features of the transaction most severely criticised were the dividend of 30 per cent on the stock of the old company; the selling of

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the 3 per cent bonds to the new stockholders at 65; and the inflation of the capitalization. It will be most convenient, perhaps, to take up these transactions in the order in which they have been mentioned.

1. The 30 per cent dividend.

That the new stockholders had a legal right to charge to capital the cost of permanent betterments which had previously been charged to income is unquestionable. The practise had not only the approval of expert accountants, but the sanction of the courts. In a precisely similar case in England, the High Court of Appeal said:

> The circumstance that they had been paying what ought to be charged to capital out of revenue does not prevent their right, or their duty to the persons who are looking for their payment out of revenue, to credit back to revenue those things which have been carried, for the time being, to capital account. (Mills vs. Northern Railway Co., 5 Chancery Appeals, 621).

The new stockholders also had a legal right to transform the book surplus thus obtained into an actual cash surplus by selling bonds to the necessary amount, and then to declare a cash dividend from the surplus so obtained. W. W. Cook, the standard authority on corporation law, says:

> When the company has used profits for improvements, it may lawfully borrow an equivalent sum of money for the purpose of a dividend. And it may properly borrow money to pay a dividend, if, upon a fair estimate of its assets and liabilities, it has assets in excess of its liabilities, and capital stock equal to the amount of the proposed dividend. (Cook on Corporations, 5th edition, section 546.)

In paying a dividend of 30 per cent out of a surplus created by capitalizing the cost of previous betterments, the new management was only doing what the old management had intended to do. In a circular letter to the old stockholders, written in February, 1899, T. B. Blackstone, then President of the Chicago & Alton Railroad, said:

"In case a majority of the shares of the company are not sold to the syndicate, I shall advise that you authorize the refunding of the outstanding bonds of the company, and the issue of a stock dividend to represent earnings heretofore invested in permanent improvements." His reasons for making this recommendation were not only that large sums had previously been expended in permanent improvements which ought to have been charged to capital, but that, partly

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as a result of this policy, the existing capitalization (bonds and stock together) represented less than 60 per cent of the actual cost of the property. (Report of President Blackstone for 1894). Inasmuch as this undistributed surplus from past earnings was mainly responsible for the high price that the purchasers had to pay for the old stock ($175 and $200 per share) they naturally thought that they were justified in taking out of such surplus a part of the purchase money. That it rightfully belonged to them there can hardly be a question. W. M. Ackworth, the leading European authority on railway administration, says, in a recent review of William E. Hooper's *Railway Accounting:*

"Here in England, no one has yet doubted that undivided profits, put back into the business, belong to the stockholders just as much as the property purchased with the capital originally subscribed."

In view of these considerations, it is hard to see why it was not proper, as it unquestionably was legal, to declare a dividend of 30 per cent on the old stock for the purpose of lessening the cost of the road to its buyers.

2. The issue of $31,988,000 of 3 per cent bonds to the new stockholders at 65.

It was perfectly proper, and in accordance with the general practise, to offer the new bonds to the stockholders before offering them to the public. The stockholders had taken the risk of putting $38,815,000 into the property, in cash, and it was only just that they should have the first chance to buy the securities issued by the new company upon reorganization. "But," it may be said, "the price at which the bonds were offered was too low. It enabled the buyers to resell them at a great advance, and thus to realize a profit which ought to have gone into the treasury of the company." That the stockholders did make a large profit when they resold the bonds is unquestionable; but that the price at which they acquired them was too low, measured by the standards and conditions of the time, is not so certain. A 3 per cent bond was then an untried experiment. The bonds of the old company, which were about to mature, bore interest at 6 and 7 per cent and nobody could tell in advance what the market value of a low-rate security would prove to be. That the price at which the 3 per cent bonds were offered to the stockholders was low enough to give them a chance of profit is true; but there was no intention of giving them an exorbitant

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profit. A market for bonds bearing as low an interest rate as 3 per cent had to be created. Such securities would naturally be taken by savings banks; but the bill making the bonds of the Chicago & Alton Company a legal investment for New York savings banks had not then passed the legislature, and it was uncertain whether it would pass. If it did not, the demand for such bonds would be comparatively limited, and they might not bring more than 70, at which price they would yield 4.28 per cent. The bill which authorized New York savings banks to invest in Alton bonds, and which thus created a market for them, did not become law until February 26, 1900, more than a year after the syndicate bought the road. It was then signed by Theodore Roosevelt, Governor of the State, who apparently thought that the bonds of the "looted," "wrecked" and "gutted" corporation were a safe investment for savings banks.

In 1907, when the Interstate Commerce Commission investigated the subject, these very bonds were selling for only a little more than the price at which they were issued, although they were just as good then as they ever had been. The exceptionally high prices from which the stockholders profited, or may have profited, in 1901-1902, were purely fortuitous, and were due mainly to the state of the money market, the low rates of interest which then prevailed, and the almost unprecedented demand for investment securities.

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that in investing cash to the amount of $20,800,000 in 3 per cent bonds, the stockholders took all the chances of interest rates, State legislation, and savings bank demand, and that such chances might have gone against them. They ran risks and reaped profits, and there was little if any criticism of their action until seven years later, when the Government, through the Interstate Commerce Commission, began its campaign against that "undesirable citizen," E. H. Harriman.

So far as this particular transaction is concerned, the Federal authorities might, with equal reason, have begun proceedings against other railroad companies. In April, 1899, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy sold to its stockholders at 75 three-and-a-half per cent bonds which went soon afterward above par; and some years earlier the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba sold to its stockholders at 10 an issue of mortgage bonds which later went above 100. It was at that time a frequently employed and never contested

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practise to give "rights" to stockholders by offering them stocks or bonds at prices below their actual or possible value, and it is still a common practise in other fields of business enterprise.

3. The alleged over-capitalization.

The question whether the Chicago & Alton was over-capitalized or not—that is, whether its capital stock exceeded its potential value—depends largely upon the definition given to the word "value." What is the value of a railroad? To this question three different answers have been given, namely:

(a) The value of a railroad is to be measured by the amount of money actually invested in it, from first to last.

(b) The value of a railroad is the present cost of reproducing and equipping it, as new.

(c) The value of a railroad is the sum on which, as a "going concern," it can earn at least the current rate of interest.

The Interstate Commerce Commission seems to prefer the first of these definitions; some economists favor the second; and most railroad men adopt the third. Outside of the Commission, the opinion is widely held that the value of a railroad, like that of income-producing property in any other form, is dependent upon its use, and is to be measured by the net earnings arising from such use. This was the view taken by the veteran railway manager, Henry Fink, in his letter to the Railroad Securities Commission; by Thomas L. Greene, Vice President of the Audit Co. of N. Y., in his *Corporation Finance;* by Judge Hook, in the Oklahoma case; and by the United States Supreme Court in the case of the C. C. C. & S. L. Ry. Co. vs. Backus. In the case last named the Court said: "Never was it held that the cost of a thing is the test of its value." . . . "The value of property results from the use to which it is put, and varies with the profitableness of that use, present and prospective, actual and anticipated."

Assuming then, or rather adopting the view of competent authorities, that the value of a railroad, and consequently its proper capitalization, should be based on earning capacity, "present and prospective, actual and anticipated," was Mr. Harriman justified in believing that he could pay $3,533,449 annually, in interest and dividends, on a capitalization of $101,000,000?

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In the year when the syndicate bought the Chicago & Alton, the road, even in its run-down and half-equipped condition, earned $2,684,694 net, and it had earned, on an average, $2,734,534 net for the six preceding years (1893 to 1898, both inclusive). It was only necessary, therefore, that annual net earnings should be increased by $798,906 in order to pay interest and dividends on all outstanding securities.[1] Mr. Felton, a thoroughly competent judge, estimated that by an expenditure of $5,200,000 in betterments the annual net earnings of the road might be increased at least $1,000,000. Mr. Harriman, an even better judge, believed that improvements and better management would bring the annual net earnings up to $4,000,000. This would not only pay all fixed charges and dividends on both classes of stock, but would leave a net annual surplus of $467,000. How prudent and conservative these estimates were the results showed. In the year when the Interstate Commerce Commission investigated the recapitalization, the net earnings of the road were $4,415,974, a sum which was $415,974 above Mr. Harriman's estimate, and $681,440 above the estimate of Mr. Felton. If rates had not been reduced during the period of Mr. Harriman's administration, the increase in net earnings would have been even greater than this.

A case parallel in some respects to that of the Chicago & Alton is furnished by the reorganization of the Norfolk & Western Railroad in 1896. In 1895, before the reorganization and recapitalization, the road and equipment were valued at $115,098,721, and the capitalization was $117,364,909, as follows:

Bonds	$57,864,909
Preferred stock	50,000,000
Common stock	9,500,000
Total capitalization	$117,364,909

In reorganization the bonds were increased by $4,635,000 and the common and preferred stock by $30,000,000, making an expanded capitalization of $151,999,909 (*Commercial & Financial Chronicle*, vol. 62, 1896). In commenting on this

[1] Owing to the necessity of spending for betterments four times the original estimate, the capitalization was ultimately increased to about $114,000,000, but I am dealing here only with the capitalization of $101,000,000, upon which the plans of Mr. Harriman and the syndicate were based.

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inflation, which amounted, as above shown, to nearly $35,000,000, President Fink said: "Stocks issued in such cases are in no sense fictitious. They represent actual value and are drafts, for value received, on more prosperous times."

He then shows that although the Norfolk & Western was over-capitalized in 1896, in the sense that it was not then earning dividends and fixed charges, it did begin paying dividends on the preferred stock in 1897 and on the common in 1901 ("Over-Capitalization," by Henry Fink; *Railway Age Gazette,* July, 1908, p. 16). The present market value of its stock is 119, which shows that its earning capacity has much more than overtaken its capitalization, notwithstanding the $35,000,000 inflation.

Mr. Harriman expected to do with the Chicago & Alton just what Mr. Fink did with the Norfolk & Western, viz., increase by means of extensive betterments its capacity for doing business and its earning power, and thus bring its net operating revenue up to the requirements of its enlarged capitalization. That he measurably succeeded in doing this is shown by the fact that when, after losing control of the road in 1903, he completely severed his connection with it in 1907, it was paying 4 per cent on its preferred stock and earning 5 per cent on its common. In other words, it was taking care of its entire capitalization, and was doing this with no increase in rates, and with an enormous extension of its facilities for transacting business and serving the public. These facts, however, as well as many others, were suppressed or ignored in the Interstate Commerce Commission's report. The Commissioners, from their point of view, might have been justified in expressing disapproval of Mr. Harriman's methods; but they were not justified in concealing the fact that these methods had more than doubled the capacity of the road to serve the people. "*Suppressio veri, suggestio falsi,*" and the concealment in this case gave the impression that Mr. Harriman, in the words of Senator Cullom, had "looted the road," regardless of the interests of the people and the territory that it served. The rebuilding of the Chicago & Alton was one of the great railroad achievements of the time; but in the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission it is made to appear a piratical raid of unscrupulous financiers, who, for their own selfish purposes, wrecked and gutted a well conducted and prosperous corporation. If the Commissioners could be

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examined, as Mr. Harriman was, under oath to tell "the *whole* truth," they might find it difficult to explain why, in a report that was supposed to cover all the facts essential to an understanding of the case, they said nothing with regard to the physical condition of the Alton when the Harriman syndicate bought it; nothing about the intention of the old management to declare just such a dividend as that declared later by the new management; nothing about the sanction given by the courts and legal authorities to the capitalization of past betterments; nothing about the general practice of the time in the matter of reorganizations; nothing about Mr. Harriman's virtual reconstruction and complete re-equipment of the road; nothing about the increase of 90 per cent in gross earnings and 80 per cent in net earnings which resulted therefrom; nothing about the lowering of rates and the improvement of facilities; nothing about the relation between the earning capacity of the reorganized road and its expanded capital, and nothing about the resumption of dividends on its preferred stock in 1906. A report which conceals or ignores these pertinent facts is not a judicial review of the case, but merely a prosecuting attorney's brief.

The responsibility for the present condition of the Alton cannot justly be thrown upon Mr. Harriman. The control of the road was wrested from him by the Rock Island, while he was in Europe in 1903, and he severed his connection with it altogether when the Rock Island transferred its holdings to the Chicago, St. Louis & Western in 1907. The financial measures adopted by the later management were ill-advised and unfortunate, and never would have met Mr. Harriman's approval. Partly to these measures, and partly to regulation, low rates, and depressed business conditions, the present difficulties of the road are due. When Mr. Harriman resigned, the Alton was not only paying its fixed charges, but was earning more than 4 per cent on both classes of its stock.

Before concluding this review of the Chicago & Alton reorganization, it seems necessary to answer specifically certain charges made against Mr. Harriman by two men who occupy positions of responsibility or authority, namely, Interstate Commerce Commissioner Prouty and Professor William Z. Ripley of Harvard University.

In an address delivered before the National Association of Manufacturers, in May, 1907, Commissioner Prouty said:

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"When Mr. Harriman, by dealings like those in the Chicago & Alton, enriches himself to the extent of many millions, he has not created that money. He has merely transferred it from the possession of some one else to himself." (*Independent*, New York, May 30, 1907, p. 1129.)

In the first place, there is no evidence to show that Mr. Harriman, as an individual participant in a syndicate of one hundred members, enriched himself to the extent of "many millions."

In the second place, it may controversially be said that when the Interstate Commerce Commissioners, by drawing money in the shape of salaries from the people of the United States, enrich themselves to the extent of many hundreds of thousands of dollars, they have not created that money. They have merely transferred it from the possession of some one else to themselves. They may reply that for the money they have "transferred" from the people, through the United States Treasury, to themselves, they have rendered valuable services—in other words, they have earned it. Mr. Harriman might have said the same, and with much more reason. By his "dealings" in the Chicago & Alton he almost entirely rebuilt the road; doubled its passenger accommodations; improved immensely its train service; increased by 134 per cent the hauling power of its locomotives, added 269 per cent to its capacity for moving freight; fostered old industries and created new ones all along its line; and enabled the people of Illinois to "create" tens of millions of dollars which they never could have created without the traffic facilities given to them by Mr. Harriman's betterments. And all this was accomplished not only without an increase in rates but with an actual reduction. If the Interstate Commerce Commissioners could show anything like this equivalent for the money that has been "transferred" from the U. S. Treasury to themselves, their claim to have earned their salaries would be unquestioned and unquestionable. Unfortunately, in the judgment of many thinking people, they have injured the business of the country instead of promoting it, and by their cramping over-regulation of railroads have alarmed investors, frightened away capital, and prevented the construction of thousands of miles of new roads, which the country already needs, and will need still more urgently in the near future. In the judgment of competent observers, they have also forced into bankruptcy

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dozens of railroads which were not mismanaged, and which might have met all their obligations if the Commission had allowed them to make their rates high enough to cover increased taxes, increased wages, and the largely advanced cost of materials and equipment. Eighty-two railway corporations are now in the hands of receivers, and even Mr. Prouty will hardly contend that they have all been "wrecked," "looted," or financially mismanaged, by "unscrupulous financiers." Most of them have failed simply because the policy of the Commission has impaired the credit of railway corporations generally, and made it impossible for weak roads to sell their securities on advantageous terms. Investors will not buy such securities until they have a reasonable assurance that the Commission will allow the companies to earn fixed charges and dividends. It seems, therefore, to be at least a debatable question whether the Commission has not "wrecked" more railroads than unscrupulous financiers have.

One of the most unfair, as well as one of the most recent, of Mr. Harriman's assailants is Professor William Z. Ripley, Ropes Professor of Economics in Harvard University. In a volume entitled *Railroads: Finance and Organization*, Prof. Ripley devotes a part of his eighth chapter to the Chicago & Alton recapitalization, and begins his account of it in the following words:

"Practically all of the possible abuses or frauds described in the preceding pages are found combined in a single instance in recent years—the reorganization of the Chicago & Alton road by the late E. H. Harriman and his associates during the eight years following 1898."

Most of the hostile critics of the Chicago & Alton transaction try to make their points by concealing or ignoring facts favorable to the defense. Prof. Ripley not only conceals or ignores but misstates. He says, for example (p. 263), that the Alton road, prior to its reorganization, was doing "a constantly expanding business." This, simply, is not true. The reports of the company show that its earnings had been stationary for five years and had fallen about 30 per cent in eleven years. The precise figures are given by Director Thompson, of the Bureau of Railway Statistics, in his *Cost, Capitalization and Estimated Value of American Railways*, p. 183.

Prof. Ripley states repeatedly (pp. 264 and 265) that

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the operations of Mr. Harriman and the syndicate were "covered up," "remained undisclosed," "were never disclosed," "were obscured in the published accounts," and "were thoroughly concealed." This, again, is simply not true. All the operations of Mr. Harriman and the syndicate, including the 30 per cent dividend and the sale of the 3 per cent bonds to the stockholders at 65, were fully and accurately set forth in the listing application to the Stock Exchange, as well as in the leading financial publications of New York, including, among others, *Poor's Manual, Moody's Manual,* and the *Manual of Statistics,* for 1900 and 1901; the New York *Evening Post,* the *Wall Street Journal,* and five issues of the *Commercial & Financial Chronicle* between April 1 and November 17, 1900.

Prof. Ripley accuses Mr. Harriman of "prejudicing the interests of shippers by creating the need of high rates for service in order to support the fraudulent capitalization." This charge is doubly misleading. In the first place it erroneously assumes that rates are dependent upon capitalization; and in the second it suggests that Mr. Harriman did raise rates on the Alton in order to bolster up fictitious securities. Neither the assumption nor the suggestion is supported by the facts. High capitalization, as a rule, does not result in high rates. On the contrary, the lowest average freight rates are in the parts of the United States which have the highest railroad capitalization.[1]

That there is no interdependence of capitalization and rates has been repeatedly admitted, even by the Interstate Commerce Commission. As long ago as 1899, Chairman Martin A. Knapp testified before the Industrial Commission that he had never seen a case in which rates seemed to depend upon capitalization, or be influenced by it. "The capitalization of a railroad," he said, "cuts no figure in this rate question."

In an article entitled "Railroad Capitalization and Federal Regulation," Franklin K. Lane, while he was yet Commissioner, said:

"Fundamentally, there is no interdependence of capitalization and rate. The latter is not in law, nor in railroad policy, the child of the former."

The statement that the "unscrupulous management" of

[1] *The Railroad Situation of To-day,* by Frank Trumbull.

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the Chicago & Alton did, as a matter of fact, " increase rates for service in order to support the fraudulent capitalization " is not true. The freight records of the Chicago & Alton for the period in question show a slight reduction in rates on grain, live stock, merchandise, and other classified commodities, with a very substantial reduction on coal. In 1899, the through rate on coal from the Springfield district was 80 cents. In 1907 it fell as low as 40 cents. The average rate per ton per mile on the whole traffic (including coal) was reduced, as Director Thompson has stated, about 25 per cent.

The most surprising of all Prof. Ripley's misstatements is that which charges Mr. Harriman with " crippling " the Alton road " physically " (p. 262). Mr. Frank H. Spearman, who has made the rebuilding of the Alton the subject of a special article, says: " Mr. Harriman overhauled the system completely, and put it physically a little in advance of every competitor." He not only lowered grades and straightened curves everywhere, but relaid about 500 miles of track with heavier steel rails, and built, in four years, no fewer than 318 new steel bridges, including the great structure that now spans the Missouri. Having thus made the track capable of sustaining heavier equipment, he substituted 165-ton locomotives of the " consolidation " type for the 55-ton engines previously in use, and reduced the ratio of car-weight to car-load about one third, at a single stroke, by " scrapping " the old wooden cars of 25-ton capacity and putting in their places steel gondolas with a freight capacity of 55 tons. He also equipped the road with new and more spacious passenger coaches, and provided passenger trains with exceptionally large locomotives, two of which, at that time, were the most powerful express passenger engines in the world. He wholly eliminated grade crossings in Chicago; equipped long stretches of track with continuous, interlocking electric signals; and introduced for the protection of trains the most effective safety devices that could be found.[1]

According to Prof. Ripley, the nefarious purpose of the " main conspirator " in making all these improvements was to " cripple the road physically " !

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[1] " The Rebuilding of an American Railroad," by Frank H. Spearman, in *The Strategy of Great Railroads*, pp. 50, 223, 225-6.

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During the period of Mr. Harriman's administration, he spent $11,262,763 on roadway and structures, and $11,064,454 on new equipment, making a total of $22,327,219 for permanent betterments, a sum equivalent to about $22,000 per mile. The road thus "physically crippled" increased its gross earnings from $6,286,569 in 1898 to $12,809,426 in 1907, and its net earnings from $2,684,694 to $4,415,974. How it was able to do this, in its "physically crippled" condition, Prof. Ripley does not explain.

Those who have made a serious study of Mr. Harriman's activities know that he never crippled a railroad physically in his life. On the contrary, he never touched a railroad that he did not physically improve. From the Sodus Bay & Southern to the Union Pacific and the Alton, he made every railroad that he controlled serve the public better than it had ever served it before. No railroad corporation, moreover, ever defaulted on its bonds, or failed to earn its fixed charges, under Mr. Harriman's management. (Hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission in the C. & A. case, p. 73.)

It is not easy to characterize Prof. Ripley's statements fittingly without overstepping the bounds of controversial courtesy; but inasmuch as he, himself, has not hesitated to call Mr. Harriman a "conspirator," and to describe his management of the Chicago & Alton as "unscrupulous," "piratical," "fraudulent" and "predatory," it may perhaps be proper to say, in the form, although not quite in the words of the professor's opening sentence: "Practically all of the possible methods, described in previous pages, of making a thing seem that which it is not, are found combined in a single instance in recent years—the account of the reorganization of the Chicago & Alton Railroad, by William Z. Ripley, Ropes Professor of Economics in Harvard University."

GEORGE KENNAN.

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THE COLOMBIAN TREATY: ITS LEGAL AND MORAL ASPECTS

BY " LATIN AMERICAN "

It was in 1902 that it became certain the French Company could not finish the Panama Canal and thus fulfill its obligations to the Republic of Colombia. It was equally clear that the work could and should be done only by the Government of the United States; and the Congress of the United States, sharing this view, recommended the Panama route. But in order that the United States might build the Canal, it was absolutely necessary that they should obtain from Colombia, by treaty, a formal concession and the transfer of the rights under which the French Company was acting. In the concession granted by Colombia to the French Company there was a clause (Article 21) expressly forbidding the company to transfer its rights to any foreign Government under penalty of forfeiture.

Such being the situation, a treaty was framed by President Roosevelt's administration, and was signed in Washington on January 22, 1903, by Mr. Herran, Colombian Minister, and Mr. Hay, then Secretary of State. By this treaty the United States was to acquire the exclusive right for the term of one hundred years, renewable, to excavate, construct and maintain, operate, control and protect the Maritime Canal; and the New French Canal Company was authorized to sell and transfer to the United States all its rights, privileges and concessions.

By Article 3, however, it was further provided that " to enable the United States to exercise these rights and privileges," the Republic of Colombia should grant to the United States " the use and control for the term of one hundred years of a zone of territory along the route of the Canal to be constructed, five kilometers in width on either side there-

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of," and also the use and occupation of the Islands of Perico, Flamenco, Naos and Culebra.

This stipulation, in the form in which it stood, created grave difficulties in Colombia; for, being generally interpreted as a relinquishment of Colombian sovereignty over the proposed zone, it ran counter to the constitutional law and the traditional organization of the Republic, which forbade the relinquishment of the nation's jurisdiction over its own territory.[1] In spite of this fact, President Marroquin used all his influence to have the Hay-Herran Treaty passed by the Colombian Senate, but his efforts were fruitless, for public opinion was strongly adverse, and a large majority of Senators stood for the constitutional objection. The American Minister at Bogotá, Mr. Beaupré, kept the Department of State frequently informed by wire, and the perusal of his cables gives a clear idea of the situation:[2]

> Without question public opinion is strongly against the ratification. . . . It has been generally thought that the Government would be able to control the elections and that the members returned would be favorable to *the Administration's view* on the Canal question, but there has been serious disappointment. Prominent and able members of the National Party opposed to the Marroquin administration and to the Canal Convention have been elected.
>
> Again, on July 2, the President had a meeting of Senators at the Palace yesterday, urging the necessity of the ratification of the treaty. Heated discussion ensued, the majority declaring in opposition to the treaty.

After a long discussion the Colombian Senate refused to approve the Hay-Herran Treaty in the form in which it stood, both on constitutional and sentimental grounds such as no nation can disavow.

One cause of deep and general feeling was a telegram from Mr. Hay to the American Minister at Bogotá, read in the Senate's secret session of July 4, 1903, which said:

> WASHINGTON, June 9th.
>
> The Colombian Government apparently does not appreciate the gravity of the situation. . . . If Colombia should now reject the treaty, or unduly delay its ratification, the friendly understanding between the two countries would be so seriously compromised that

[1] Law No. 2, 1886, expressly declares: "Land ownership in Colombia cannot be transferred to foreign Governments."

[2] Diplomatic History of the Panama Canal, Senate Document 474, 63d Congress, p. 379 and the following pages.

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action might be taken by Congress next winter which every friend of Colombia would regret.

A month later, while the treaty was being discussed in the Colombian Senate, the United States Minister at Bogotá delivered to the Colombian Government this further unexpected warning:

Legation of the United States,
Bogotá, August 5, 1903.

His Excellency Dr. Luis Carlos Rico, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Colombia.

I may say that the antecedent circumstances of the whole negotiation of the Canal treaty, from official information in the hands of my Government, are of such a nature as to fully warrant the United States in considering any modification whatever of the terms of the treaty as practically a breach of faith on the part of the Government of Colombia, such as may involve the gravest complications in the friendly relations which have hitherto existed between the two countries.

These were undoubtedly most unhappy ways to win the good will of an independent legislative body. And it is not strange that, immediately after the delivery of the second warning, the Colombian Senate, confronted with the threatening demand that it abandon all legal rights and constitutional objections, felt that the country's honor and dignity were at stake, and unanimously refused to approve the treaty. It could not have done otherwise.

It has been said by President Roosevelt, in his message December 7, 1903, that the Colombian Government really had absolute control over the situation, "but did not choose to exercise this control." It has also been declared that President Marroquin "ruled as the supreme executive, legislative, civil and military authority in the so-called Republic of Colombia." (Mr. Root's speech, Chicago, February 22, 1904.)

These allegations are refuted by the statements of the United States Minister at Bogotá, already quoted. Had President Marroquin been a dictator, he would have forced the treaty through. Because he was not a dictator, because there was a Senate free enough to oppose his will and power, the treaty was rejected.

Subsequently, President Marroquin, feeling apprehensive for the future, sought a way to overcome the action of the Senate, and twice, first in August, 1903, and later on,

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intimated that he was prepared to assume dictatorial powers; and in consequence the American Minister, Mr. Beaupré, cabled to the Department of State, on November 6th, that Marroquin's Government would

> declare martial law, and, by virtue of vested constitutional authority when public order is disturbed, will approve by decree the treaty, or, if the Government of the United States prefers, will call extra sessions of Congress, with new and friendly members, next May to approve the treaty.

In truth, what difference could it have made to the United States to wait six months in order to obtain an absolutely solid and clean title from the sovereign owner of Panama? What difference could six months have made in a work which would last for all time? Twelve years have elapsed and the title is not yet clean, and Colombia's claims are as strong and valid as ever.

In his address on the "Ethics of the Panama Question" before the Union League Club in Chicago, February 22, 1904, Mr. Root, speaking of the proposal made by Colombia, says:

> When these dispatches were received the die was not cast on the Isthmus. The United States had not recognized the new Republic of Panama. Colombia said: "We will ratify the treaty; we will ratify it by decree, or we will call a Congress selected for the purpose . . . if you will preserve our integrity." Panama said: "Recognize our independence, and the treaty follows, of course, for the building of the Canal is our dearest hope." What was the duty of the United States toward the people of Panama and the dictator at Bogotá?

The duty? Let President Polk tell what the duty of the United States was in the face of the guaranty given by the United States to Colombia in the treaty of 1846. When President Polk presented the treaty to the Senate (Message of February 10, 1847), he said:

> The guarantee of the sovereignty of New Granada (Colombia) over the Isthmus is a natural consequence of the guarantee of its neutrality, and there does not seem to be any other practicable mode of securing the neutrality of this territory. New Granada (Colombia) would not consent to yield up this Province in order that it might become a neutral state, and if it should, it is not sufficiently populous or wealthy to maintain an independent sovereignty.

If Colombia would not consent to see Panama become neutral, still less could she have imagined that Panama

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would one day be made independent of her through the forcible aid of the United States.

And later on Secretary Seward, defining the meaning of the guaranty, emphatically declared:

> If the complete and absolute sovereignty and independence should ever be assailed by any power at home or abroad, the United States will be ready, co-operating with the Government (the Colombian Government) to defend them.

The power " at home " was and could be no other than the provincial Government of Panama.

But, in the face of such clear and honorable obligations, what happened? Within sixty hours after the revolutionary movement broke out in 1903, the then Government of the United States recognized the independence of Panama, hastened the framing of a treaty with her, and acquired from her the Zone of land through which the canal had to be dug.

" I took the Isthmus," said ex-President Roosevelt—and in fact he did.

Out of this " taking " of the Isthmus, notwithstanding solemn treaty pledges, have Colombia's claims against the United States arisen; and that they stand on the firm ground of right and justice has been virtually recognized by three American administrations in their endeavors to make amends for the injury done to Colombia. A treaty was framed under Mr. Roosevelt's administration in 1909 (Cortes-Root Treaty); later on Mr. Taft sent as his envoy to Bogotá Mr. Dubois, who did his best to settle Colombia's grievances, and but for lack of time probably would have succeeded; and last, but certainly not least, there is the pending treaty offered as a fair and friendly token by the present Administration.

Her unexpected dismemberment, by the " taking " of Panama, caused Colombia serious moral injuries, as well as great material loss, the most painful moral injury being the necessity of altering her time-honored national escutcheon, which came into existence with her independence more than a hundred years ago. The base of this escutcheon is formed by a representation of the Isthmus of Panama, which, now that the territory has been taken from her, must disappear. What, we may ask, would be the feelings of the people of the United States if, with the avowed help of a foreign ruler, Old

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Glory should be bereft of one of its stripes and the Great Seal be deprived of one of its thirteen original stars?

But, in spite of her humiliation and deep-seated grievance, Colombia has never for a moment claimed the right to act as judge in her own cause. On the contrary, she proposed, and has never ceased to ask, that the following simple points be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague:

1. By the treaty of 1846 between the United States and Colombia, the United States bound itself (Article 35) to guarantee to New Granada (later Colombia) the right of sovereignty and property which New Granada had and possessed over the territory of the Isthmus of Panama. President Roosevelt undertook to interpret this treaty by saying that the guarantee of sovereignty was not opposed to Panama's establishment of her independence, even with the aid of the United States, granted under the semblance of maintaining order on the Isthmus. Colombia has construed, and still construes, the guarantee as being absolute, either as against a foreign nation or against an internal separatist movement; and has maintained, and still maintains, that the preservation of order could never be used as a means or pretext for the subversion of Colombian sovereignty.

2. On November 2, 1903, the Navy Department of the United States cabled to the commanders of the U. S. S. *Marblehead* and *Boston,* as follows:

> Proceed with all possible dispatch to Panama. . . . Maintain free and uninterrupted transit. If interruption is threatened by armed force occupy the line of railroad. *Prevent landing of any armed force, either Government or insurgent, with hostile intent, at any point within 50 miles of Panama.* . . .
>
> Government forces reported approaching the Isthmus in vessels. Prevent their landing if, in your judgment, landing would precipitate a conflict.
>
> (Signed) DARLING,
> *Acting.*

The movement for independence at Panama broke out November 3, 1903. The day before, November 2, the American Government took measures to protect an independence which had not yet been proclaimed; and, in accordance with the now world-famous fifty-mile order, above quoted, forci-

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bly prevented Colombia from defending her own sovereignty over her own territory with her own forces. But for this order the insurrection would have been subdued within eight days, without even bringing the line of transit between Colon and Panama within the sphere of military operations. Colombia contends that on the strength of this order alone, even if there had been no treaty guarantee, she is entitled to ample redress for the " taking " of Panama. If these questions were submitted to The Hague Court, the latter would decide as to which party was right in its contentions, and would award indemnity or withhold it, in accordance with that decision.

Colombia's request that her differences with the United States be submitted to arbitration has not been withdrawn. It is merely held in abeyance because the present Administration suggested the possibility of settling the matter directly. Colombia assented to this proposal, and eventually joined in the conclusion of the present treaty, which is intended to put an end to a question which has made a deep and widespread impression, a question which has given rise to great misgivings and distrust throughout Latin-America, and which, if not fairly settled, makes the profession of Pan-Americanism a jest.

The treaty proposed by the American Minister and signed at Bogotá, April 6, 1914, is still pending before the Senate of the United States. It clearly states that its aim is " to remove all misunderstandings growing out of the political events in Panama in November, 1903; to restore the cordial friendship that formerly characterized the relations between the two countries, and also to define and regulate their rights and interests in respect of the Interoceanic Canal." And in order to put at rest all differences and misunderstandings, the Government of the United States expresses " sincere regret that anything should have occurred to interrupt or to mar the relations of cordial friendship that have so long subsisted between the two nations."

Opposition to the treaty has been cunningly fomented by calling this expression of regret over the disturbance of an old-time friendship, without any admission of wrongdoing, an " apology." In this way prejudice has been created, sometimes craftily, sometimes heedlessly, against a noble and chivalrous act toward a weaker nation in deep distress; an act, moreover, in harmony with international morality

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and with precedents in which the United States has borne a part.

In the treaty between the United States and Great Britain of May 8, 1871, intended to put an end to the *Alabama* claims, Great Britain, animated with a like spirit, concurred with the United States in signing the following declaration:

> Art. 1. Whereas Her Britanic Majesty has authorized Her High Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries to express, in a friendly spirit, the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels.

Were these healing words, which are in effect identical with those used in the treaty with Colombia, construed as an "apology" and a confession of wrong? By no means. They were merely an act of consolation—the outgiving, as was well said, of "a friendly spirit." Moreover, Great Britain's situation was more precarious than the present position of the United States; for, as the question of her liability and of the amount of indemnity to be paid were reserved for a tribunal of arbitration, an "apology," necessarily involving the implication of wrongdoing, would have been out of the question. In fact, neither in 1871 did Great Britain "apologize" to the United States, nor in 1914 did the United States "apologize" to Colombia. The expression of 1914 is in an especial sense but an act of kindness by a strong nation towards a weaker one—an act which exalts the strong and leaves no stain upon its character.

So long as the pending treaty remains unapproved by the Senate of the United States, the rights of Colombia will weigh with all their might against the lawfulness of the title acquired by the United States from Panama; and if redress should be deferred, Colombia will go on claiming her rights and demanding that the Supreme Tribunal of Nations sitting at The Hague be entrusted with the high mission of granting her international justice.

Meanwhile, the realization of the lofty ideal of Pan-Americanism will remain an impossibility, and the efforts long made by far-sighted, practical statesmen to bring about the moral union of the American continents will have been fruitless.

"Latin American."

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NAVAL POLICY

BY REAR ADMIRAL BRADLEY A. FISKE, U. S. N.

EVERY country that has a satisfactory navy has acquired it as the result of a far-seeing naval policy, not of opportunism or of chance. The country has first studied the question thoroughly, then decided what it ought to do, then decided how to do it.

Naval policy has to deal with three elements: material, personnel and operations, which though separate, are mutually dependent. A clear comprehension of their actual relations and relative weights can be obtained only by thorough study; but without that comprehension no wise naval policy can be formulated, and therefore no satisfactory navy can be established.

The most obvious thing about a navy is its material: the ponderous battleships, the picturesque destroyers, the submarines, the intricate engines of multifarious types, the radio, the signal flags, the torpedo that costs eight thousand dollars, the gun that can sink a ship ten miles away.

The United States Navy ever since its beginning in 1775 has excelled in its material; the ships have always been good, and in many cases they have surpassed those of similar kind in other navies. This has been due to the strong commonsense of the American people, their engineering skill and their inventive genius. The first warship to move under steam was the American ship *Demologos,* sometimes called the *Fulton the First,* constructed in 1813; the first electric torpedoes were American; the first submarine to do effective work in war was American; the first turret ship, the *Monitor,* was American; the first warship to use a screw propeller was the *Princeton,* an American; the naval telescope-sight was American. American ships now are not only well constructed, but all their equipments are of the best; and to-day

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the American battleship is the finest and most powerful vessel of her class in the world.

Our personnel, too, has always been good. The American seaman has always excelled, and so has the American gunner. No ships have ever been better handled than the American ships; no naval battles in history have been conducted with more skill and daring than those of American ships; no exploits in history surpass those of Cushing, Hobson and Decatur.

In operations, however, in the handling of the navy as a whole, we have never excelled; though no better individual fleet leaders shine in the pages of all history than Farragut and Dewey. The strategical operating of our material and personnel has not been in accordance with carefully laid plans, but has been left largely to the inspiration of the commander on the spot, both in peace and in war. Material has suffered from lack of a naval policy, but only quantitatively, because material is a subject that the people understand. Personnel has suffered more, because the people fail to realize the amount of training needed to make a personnel competent to perform their tasks successfully, in competition with the highly-trained men of other navies. But operations have suffered incomparably more than material and personnel; because naturally the people do not comprehend the supreme importance of being ready, when war breaks out, to operate the material and personnel skilfully against an active enemy, in accordance with well prepared strategic plans; nor do they realize how difficult and long would be the task of preparing and testing out those plans. Therefore, they fail to provide the necessary administrative machinery.

In fact, the kind and amount of machinery needed to conduct operations skilfully and quickly cannot be decided wisely, until the country adopts some naval policy; and in naval policy the United States must be admitted to have lagged behind almost every other civilized country. Spurred as we were to exertion by the coming of the Revolutionary War, we constructed hastily, though with skill, the splendid ships that did service in that war. But after the war, interest in the navy waned; and if it had not been for the enormous tribute demanded by the pirates of the Barbary Coast from our Government, and a realization of the fact that not only was it cheaper to build ships and fight the pirates than

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to pay the tribute, but that paying the tribute was a disgraceful act, our navy would have run down even more than it did. Yet even with this warning, 1812 found our navy in a desperate condition. Rallying to the emergency, though too late to accomplish much practical result, we built a number of excellent ships, against the votes of many highly influential men in Congress. These ships did gallant service, and redeemed the reputation of Americans from the oft repeated charge of being cowards and merely commercial men, though they were too few to prevent the blockade which British squadrons maintained on our Atlantic Coast. After the war, the navy was again allowed to deteriorate; and although our ships were excellent, and the officers and men were excellent, and although the war with Mexico supplied some stimulation, the War of the Rebellion caught us in a very bad predicament. The country rose to this emergency too slowly, as before; but the enemy were even less prepared than we, so that during the four years of the Civil War we were able to construct, man, and buy several hundred ships of various kinds; with the result that, at the end of the war, our navy, if not quite so powerful as Great Britain's, was at least very close to it, and with a recent experience in actual war which the British Navy did not possess.

After that war, the same story was repeated. The people convinced themselves that they would never again be forced to go to war; that they had seen the folly of it, and the misery of it, and would devote themselves thereafter to the delightful pursuits of peace. Gradually the fighting ships of the ironclad class were allowed to go to pieces; gradually even the larger ships of the wooden sailing class fell into disrepair; gradually the idea of war faded from the minds even of naval officers; gradually squadrons and fleets, as such, were broken up, and our ships were to be found scattered singly over all the seas, and swinging idly at their anchors in pleasant ports.

Fortunately, Admiral Luce and a very few other officers had learned the salient lessons of war during the rebellion, and sturdily stood up against the decadent tendency of the times. Against much opposition, Luce succeeded in founding the Naval War College at Newport, where the study of war as an art in itself was to be prosecuted, and in enlisting Captain Mahan in the work. In a few years Mahan gave to the world that epochal book, *The Influence of Sea Power*

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upon History (embodying his lectures before the War College), which stirred the nations of Europe to such a realization of the significance of naval history, and such a comprehension of the efficacy of naval power, that they entered upon a determined competition for acquiring naval power, which continues to this day.

Meanwhile, a little before 1880, the people became aroused to the fact that though the country was growing richer, their navy was becoming weaker, while the navies of certain European countries were becoming stronger. So they began in 1880 the construction of what was then called "the new navy." The construction of the new ships was undertaken upon the lines of the ships then building abroad, which were in startling contrast with the useless old-fashioned American ships which then were flying our flag.

The construction of the material of the navy has progressed since then, but spasmodically. At every session of Congress tremendous efforts have been made by people desiring an adequate navy, and tremendous resistance has been made by people who believed that we required no navy, or at least only a little navy. The country at large has taken a bystander's interest in the contest, not knowing much about the pros and cons, but feeling in an indolent fashion that we needed some navy, though not much. The result has been, not a reasonable policy, but a succession of unreasonable compromises between the aims of the extremists on both sides.

Great Britain, on the other hand, has always regarded the navy question as one of the most difficult and important before the country, and has adopted, and for centuries has maintained, a definite naval policy. This does not mean that she has followed a rigid naval policy; for a naval policy, to be efficient, must be able to accommodate itself quickly to rapid changes in international situations, and to meet sudden dangers from even unexpected quarters—as the comparatively recent experience of Great Britain shows. At the beginning of this century the British Navy was at the height of its splendor and self-confidence. Britannia ruled the waves, and Britannia's ships and squadrons enforced Britannia's policies in every sea. The next most powerful navy was that of France; but it was not nearly so large, and seemed to be no more efficient, in proportion to its size. Due to Britain's wise and continuing

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policy, and the excellence of the British sailor and his ships, the British Navy proudly and almost tranquilly held virtual command of all the seas.

But shortly after this century began, British officers discerned a new and disturbing element gradually developing on the horizon. The first thing which roused their attention to it was the unexpected attack of the Japanese torpedo boats on the Russian squadron in Port Arthur. No war had been declared, and the Russian squadron was riding peacefully at anchor. The suddenness of the attack, and the distinct though incomplete success which it achieved, startled the British into a realization of the fact that there had been introduced into warfare on the sea methods and tactics requiring a higher order of preparation than had ever before been known; that the scientific methods which the Germans employed so effectively on land in 1870 had been adapted by the Japanese to naval warfare, and would necessitate the introduction into naval policies of speedier methods than had hitherto been needed.

Another event which had happened shortly before showed that naval policies would have to be modified, if they were to utilize recent advances in scientific methods. This event was the unprecedented success at target practise of *H. M. S. Terrible,* commanded by Captain Sir Percy Scott, which proved that by a long and strenuous training and the adoption of instruments of precision, it was possible to attain a skill in naval gunnery never attained before. Up to this moment the British Navy had almost despised gunnery. Inheriting the traditions brought down from Howe, Rodney and Nelson, permeated with the ideals of the "blue water school," proud of being British seamen, proud of the pure white of their ships, enamored of the stimulating breeziness of the quarter deck and bridge, imbued with almost a contempt for such mathematical sciences as were not directly used in practical navigation, British naval officers exalted seamanship as the acme of their art, and took little interest in gunnery. All the battles of the past had been won by dash and seamanship and dogged persistence. Ships had always fought close alongside each other. No science had ever won any naval battle of the past, so why should they bother with science now—and why should they bother with target practise, except just enough to insure that the battery was in order, and that the men were not afraid of their guns?

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Besides, target practise dirtied the ship—a sacrilege to the British naval officer.

But the events of the war between Japan and Russia, especially the naval battles of Port Arthur, August 10th, 1904, and the Sea of Japan, May 27th, 1905, rivetted their attention on the fact that something more than seamanship and navigation and clean ships would be needed, if the British Navy was to maintain her proud supremacy on the sea; for in these battles, overwhelming victories were won purely by superior skill in gunnery, strategy and tactics.

To these causes of awakening was added one still greater, but of like import—the rapid rise of the German Navy from a position of comparative unimportance to one which threatened the British Navy itself. The fact became gradually evident to British officers that the German Navy was proceeding along the same lines as had proceeded the German Army. Realizing the efficiency of the German Government, noting the public declarations of the German Emperor, observing the excellence of the German ships, the skill of the German naval officers, and the extraordinary energy which the German people were devoting to the improvement of the German Navy—the British Navy took alarm.

So did the other navies.

Beginning about 1904, Great Britain set to work with energy to reform her naval policy. Roused to action by the sense of coming danger, she augmented the size and number of vessels of all types; increased the personnel of all classes, regular and reserve; scrapped all obsolete craft; built (secretly) the epocal *Dreadnought*, and modernized in all particulars the British Navy. In every great movement one man always stands pre-eminent. The man in this case was Admiral Sir John Fisher, First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, afterwards Lord Fisher. Fisher brought about vital changes in the organization, methods, and even the spirit of the navy. He depleted the overgrown foreign squadrons, concentrated the British force in powerful fleets near home, established the War College, inculcated the study of strategy and tactics, appointed Sir Percy Scott as inspector of target practise, put the whole weight of his influence on the side of gunnery and efficiency, placed officers in high command who had the military idea as distinguished from the idea of the "blue water school," and imbued the entire service with the avowed

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idea that they must get ready to fight to the death, not the French Navy, with its easy-going methods, but the German Navy, allied perhaps with some other navy. At the Admiralty he introduced methods analogous to those of the General Staff, to maintain the navy ready for instant service at all times, to prepare and keep up to date mobilization plans in the utmost detail, and to arrange plans for the conduct of war in such wise that after a war should break out, all the various probable situations would have been studied out in advance.

The work required at the Admiralty, and still more in the fleet,—night and day and in all weathers,—taxed mental and physical endurance to the limit; but the result was complete success; for when war broke out on the first of August, 1914, the British Navy was absolutely ready. Many complaints have appeared in print about the unreadiness of Great Britain; but no one who knows anything of the facts supposes that these criticisms include Great Britain's Navy.

The United States Navy in the early part of this century occupied, relatively to others, a very ill-defined position; but the increased interest taken in it by our people after the Spanish War, combined with the destruction of the flower of the Russian fleet in the Russo-Japanese War, and the crushing blow inflicted on the French Navy by the mal-administration of M. Pelletan, resulted in placing our navy, about three years ago, in a position second only to Great Britain's—a position which it recently has lost. Due to a common origin and language, our navy has always followed the British Navy, though at a somewhat respectful distance; and while it is true that in point of mechanical inventions we are ahead, in seamanship, navigation and engineering on a par, and in gunnery and tactics not far behind, yet we must admit that in policy and in policy's first cousin, strategy, we are very far in the rear.

There are many reasons why this should be, the first being that the British Navy has nearly always lived under more stimulating conditions than we, because the probability of war has seemed greater, and because the United States has underestimated what reasonable probability there has been, and failed to realize how tremendously difficult would be the task of getting ready for it. Due to the present war our people have gradually come to see that they must get more ships and other material; but they realize this as

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only a measure of urgency, and not as a matter of policy. If the emergency passes us by in safety, the people may see in this fact only a confirmation of their notion that war can be postponed *ad infinitum,* and may therefore fail to take due precautions for the future. If so, when we at last become involved in a sudden war, we shall be as unprepared as now; and, relatively to some aggressive nation which, foreseeing this, may purposely prepare itself, we shall be more unprepared.

A curious phase of the navy question in our country is the fact that very few people, even the most extreme partisans for or against a large navy, have ever studied it as a problem, and endeavored to arrive at a correct solution. Few have realized that it is a problem, in the strictest sense of the word; and that unless one approaches it as such his conclusions cannot be correct except by accident.

In Germany, on the other hand, and equally in Japan, the question has been taken up as a concrete problem, just as definite as a problem in engineering. They have used for solving it the method called "The Estimate of the Situation," originated by the German General Staff, which is now adopted in all the armies and navies of civilized countries for the solution of military problems. Previous to the adoption of this method the general procedure had been such as is now common in civil life, when a number of people forming a group desire to make a decision as to what they will do in any given contingency. The usual procedure is for some one to suggest that a certain thing be done, then for somebody else to suggest that something else be done, and so on; and then finally for the group to make a decision which is virtually a compromise. This procedure is faulty, and the decisions resulting are apt to be unwise; because it is quite possible that some very important factors may be overlooked, and equally possible that some other factors be given undue weight. Furthermore, a measure advocated by a man who has the persuasive and emotional abilities of the orator is more apt to be favorably considered than a measure advocated by a man not possessing those abilities.

In the "Estimate of the Situation" method, on the other hand, the orator has no opportunity, because the procedure is simply an accurate process of reasoning. It is divided into four parts. The first part consists of a careful study of the "mission," ending in a clear determination of what the

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"mission" really is—that is: *what is the thing which it is desired to do?* The second part consists of a careful study, and eventually a clear comprehension, of the difficulties in the way; the third part consists of a careful study, and eventually a clear comprehension, of what facilities are available with which to overcome the difficulties; the fourth part consists of a careful study of the mission, difficulties and facilities, in their mutual relations, and a "decision" as to what should therefore be done.

Military and naval people are so thoroughly convinced of the value of this method that they always employ it when making important decisions, writing down the various factors and the successive steps in regular order and in complete detail.

In this country, while naval and military people use this method in their comparatively minor problems, the country at large does not use it in deciding the major problem: that is, in deciding how much navy they want, and of what composition. They do not take even the first step toward formulating a naval policy, because they do not study the "mission" of the navy; that is, *they do not study the international and national situations and their bearing on the need for a navy.* Yet until they do this they will not be in a sufficiently informed condition of mind to conclude what the "mission" is; that is, what they wish the navy to be able to do; because, before they can formulate the mission they must resolve what foreign navy or navies that mission must include. If they conclude that the mission of the navy is to guard our coast and trade routes against the hostile efforts of Liberia the resulting naval policy will be simple and inexpensive; while if they conclude that the mission of our navy is to guard our coast and trade routes against the hostile acts of *any* navy the resulting naval policy will be so difficult and costly as to tax the brain and wealth of the country to a degree that will depend on *the time at which the country decides that the navy must be ready to fulfil that mission.*

This factor reminds us of another factor: *the minimum time in which the navy can get ready to fulfil a given mission* (for instance, to protect us against any navy); and we cannot decide the mission correctly without taking this factor into account. For example, it would be foolish to decide that the mission of our navy is to protect us *now*

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against any navy, including the greatest, when it would take us at least twenty years to develop and train a navy to accomplish that task; and it would be equally foolish to decide that the mission is to protect us against any navy *except* the greatest, because such a decision could rest on no other ground than present improbability of conflict with the greatest navy, or improbability for the very few years ahead (say two or three) which we poor mortals can forecast.

This reasoning seems to indicate that the first step in formulating a naval policy for the United States is to realize that any conclusion as to which navies should be included in the mission of our navy must not exclude any navy about whose peaceful conduct towards us we can entertain a reasonable doubt, *during the period of time which we would require to get ready to meet her.* For instance, inasmuch as it would take us at least twenty years to get ready to protect ourselves against the hostile efforts of the British Navy, we cannot exclude even that navy from a consideration of the mission of our own, unless we entertain no doubt of the peaceful attitude of that navy towards us for at least that twenty years.

Clearly, the problem is not only very important but very difficult—perhaps the most difficult single problem before the country; and for this reason, naval officers have long marvelled that the leading minds of the country do not undertake it. Perhaps one reason is that they do not know how difficult it is: that they do not realize the extraordinary complexity of modern ships and engines, and the trained skill required to handle them; that they do not realize what Great Britain now realizes, that we must prepare for one of the most stupendous struggles ever carried on; that we must have a personnel both of officers and enlisted men trained to the highest point, because they will have to meet officers and enlisted men trained to the highest point; that the training must be such that the skill produced can be exercised by night and day, in cold and heat, in storm and calm, under circumstances of the utmost possible difficulty and danger; that, while it takes four years to build a ship and get her into the fleet as an effective unit, it takes much longer to train an enlisted petty officer as he should be trained, and a lifetime to train officers of the upper grades. Perhaps also our leading minds do not realize the intellectual requirements of the higher realms of the naval art, or com-

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prehend what the examples of Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon, Nelson and Farragut prove: that, *in the real crises of a nation's life her most valuable asset is the trained skill in strategy that directs the movements of her forces.*

Further than this, they may not realize that the greater the danger which they must avert, the earlier they must begin to prepare for it, because the more work in preparation will have to be performed; and yet realization of this truth is absolutely vital, as is also realization of the fact that we have no military Power as our ally, and therefore must be ready to meet alone a hostile attack (though perhaps in the far distant future) from *any* foreign Power. To see that this is true it is merely necessary to note the facts of history, and observe how nations that have long been on terms of friendship have suddenly found themselves at war with each other; and how countries which have always been hostile have found themselves fighting side by side. In the present war, Great Britain is allied with the two countries toward which, more than toward any other, she has been hostile; and she is fighting the country to which, more than any other, she is bound by ties of consanguinity and common interests. The history of war is so filled with alternations of peace and war between every pair of contiguous countries as to suggest the thought that the mere fact of two countries having interests that are common is a reason why those interests may conflict; that countries which have no common interests have nothing to fight about; that it is only for things in which two nations are interested, and that both desire, that those two nations fight.

If our estimate of the situation should lead us to the decision that we must prepare our navy in such a way that, say twenty years hence, it will be able to protect the country against any enemy, we shall then instinctively adopt a policy. The fact of having ahead of us a definite, difficult thing to do, will at once take us out of the region of guess work, and force us into logical methods. We shall realize the problem in its entirety; we shall see the relation of one part to another, and of all the parts to the whole; we shall realize that the deepest study of the wisest men must be devoted to it, as it is in all maritime countries except our own. The very difficulties of the problem, the very scope and greatness of it, the fact that national failure or national success will hinge on the way we solve it, will call into action the pro-

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foundest minds in all the nation. We will realize that, more than any other problem before the country, this problem is urgent; because in no other problem have we so much lost time to make up for, and in no other work of the Government are we so far behind the great nations that we may have to contend against.

Great Britain was startled into a correct estimate of the situation ten years ago, and at once directed perhaps the best of her ability to meet it. Certain it is that no other department of the British Government is in such good condition as the navy; in no other department has the problem been so thoroughly understood, and so conscientiously worked out, or the success been so triumphant. Whatever it was expected or desired that the British Navy should do the British Navy has done; and though its success has not been so spectacular as the successes of Lord Howe and Nelson, and though many are restless under the forced inaction of the fleet, yet the confidence of Great Britain is given unreservedly to her navy, and her most vital interests are committed to its keeping.

The underlying reason for this is not so much the individual courage and ability of the officers and men, or even their skill in handling their ships and squadrons, as the fact that Great Britain has followed a definite naval policy; so that the British nation has had a perfectly clear realization of what it wishes the navy to do, and the navy has had a perfectly clear realization of how to do it.

The United States has not yet made a correct estimate of the naval situation; she has not yet reached the point that Great Britain reached ten years ago. Great Britain apprehended the danger, and took action before it was too late. Shall the United States take action now, or wait until it is too late?

Is it already too late?

BRADLEY A. FISKE.

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CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE WITHOUT AMENDMENT

BY JOSEPH H. CHOATE, JR.

THE defeat, at the recent New York election, of the proposed constitution prepared by the Constitutional Convention of the State, raises a serious question as to whether any comprehensive reform of the frame of government under which we live can ever be secured. Nobody doubts that the present governmental mechanism of the State of New York is, in many respects, thoroughly bad; but to carry through a popular election any new plan in which the various necessary reforms are properly correlated is an undertaking of enormous difficulty. Whatever change may be proposed inevitably creates a body of enemies. Every measure that dispenses with useless services, or wasteful expenditure, and every step in reorganization which, by concentrating responsibility, lessens the power of any office-holder, strikes a severe blow at the personal interests of the man whose services are dispensed with, or whose power is diminished. The greater the reform, the greater is the number of such individuals affected. The man whose power or pocket is hit is usually a politician, well versed in the means of influencing public opinion. He rushes to the attack with an efficiency quite beyond that which can be expected, in opposition, from defenders of the measure, who are mostly moved by public interest alone. Any new constitution, therefore, which differs in more than a few points from that which it is to replace, is instantly opposed by a formidable array of hostile groups. The better the constitution, the greater the number of bitterness of its enemies. A perfect constitution, framed by an all-wise convention, and so devised as to do away with all waste, all graft, and all corrupt politics, would create so vast and varied an army of opponents that it would find difficulty in carrying a single election district.

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The enemies thus created start their attacks from a position of immense advantage. Perhaps half of our voters have—wisely enough—fallen into the habit of voting against any proposed political or legal change which they do not fully understand. This habit of voting against anything which is not understood is an almost insuperable obstacle; for how, under any conceivable circumstances, is the average voter to understand or even to imagine that he understands, so that he himself may judge it, a proposed constitution such as that which has just been rejected? Can he be expected to read all its thirty thousand words of legal phraseology? If he read it, could he form even a hazy idea of its effect on many important points? Can he, an untrained layman, be called upon to do what is difficult and toilsome even for lawyers? The answer to these questions is a painfully obvious and emphatic negative; and, because we cannot hope that the average voter ever will understand and weigh for himself such an instrument, we must face the certainty that a large and intelligent class will vote against any proposed constitution whatever, irrespective of its merits.

Moreover, the power of one who opposes a proposed measure to get people to vote against it is enormous. A politician can exert much more influence against a proposed law than against a candidate. The average voter is bound to reject almost any measure as to the merits of which he is in doubt. The most trifling uncertainty is—naturally enough—sufficient to convert him into an opponent of the proposition. Accordingly, a word of disapproval from a man whose opinion carries any weight with any voter is likely to start a spreading wave of doubt which will array masses of voters against any complicated proposed law.

What are we going to do about it? Two possible courses are obvious. We can submit a new constitution section by section, amendment by amendment, each change separately; or we can draw a radically new constitution as short and simple as the original Federal instrument, which the voters might actually read. But neither of these methods is practicable. No real reorganization can be reached by the separate submission of the large number of necessary amendments, because the defeat of one of a group of related provisions might leave the rest useless or even harmful, and also because no amendment can be so drawn as to be appropriate in connection with the rest of a constitution so

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adopted, when nobody knows which of the submitted propositions are going to succeed, and which are to be rejected. You cannot draft, for example, an executive reorganization provision which will go well with a new legislative and a new judiciary article, and which will go equally well with either of the latter if one is rejected, or with neither if both meet defeat. To submit four different versions, one appropriate for each possible event, would be absurd, if not impossible. The other method is, unfortunately, a counsel of perfection. The public, or various sections of the public, want so many particular provisions that it is not possible at this day to frame a short constitution which satisfies the people's demands.

Is there, then, no remedy? I am inclined to think that there is a possible remedy, and at least an important palliative, near at hand.

No constitution—not even the vast encyclopedic documents adopted by some of the newer States—is wholly written. Many important details of the governmental system are not prescribed, but are formulated by custom. Other details, without deviation from the strict observance of the text, may be executed in several widely different ways. The language used is generally susceptible of construction; and the possible variant meanings lead to widely different results. Even after custom has apparently settled the operation of constitutional provisions, the institutions which they create may suffer startling changes without the alteration of a word in the creating provision. The most conspicuous example of this is, of course, the change in the method of electing the President of the United States. The Constitution committed the choice to the College of Electors; but the popular will demanded and obtained, without amendment, that sweeping change in our practical government by which the votes of the Electoral College came to register not the personal choice of the individual electors, but the choice of the people at large. From this instance, even when considered alone, it is plain that under favorable circumstances vast modifications may be brought about in the effect of some at least of our constitutional provisions without altering their text.

Somewhat strangely, this method of fitting our institutions to our growth seems to have been neglected. In the face of the national genius—shown in every variety of busi-

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ness and sport—for analyzing to the ultimate limit the rules of the game, and devising ways to accomplish, within those rules, results unexpected and unintended by their framers, we have come to adopt toward our written constitutions a literalism which has tended to destroy both their flexibility and their elasticity. Since the early days of the nation—in fact since the change in the method of electing our presidents—we have made few efforts to see what changes could be effected within the constitutions as they stand. We have fallen into the habit of assuming that the method in which a particular provision has been practically carried out, has been the only possible method, and that while the provision stands, the resulting institution is unchangeable.

The fallacy of this assumption and the revolutionary changes which may be brought about without amendment and without violation of letter or spirit of the constitutional text—even without strained construction—can be demonstrated by at least one historical example. The Dominion of Canada is the creation of a written constitution—the British North America Act. Being an enactment, not of the people of Canada, but of the legislature of a superior and foreign sovereignty, from whose authority alone the right to change it is derived, it is apparently even more inflexible than ours. Yet without alteration it has conformed itself to the will of the people by producing a government utterly different from that apparently contemplated by the language of the instrument.

On its face, it would seem to create a government modelled rather on our National Government than on that of Great Britain. It places the executive power, not in the hands of the governing party of the Legislature, but in those of the Governor-General appointed by the Crown. Upon him it confers most of the usual prerogatives of the chief executive magistrates in our commonwealths, and many more. It gives him the veto; it authorizes him to appoint judges and other officers, and even to select the members of the Upper House of the Legislature itself. Had the instrument been acted upon in the spirit in which our constitutions are followed, the result would necessarily have been to duplicate our system of a detached, independent executive, dealing at arm's length with the legislative branch of the government. In practise, however, the result has been the exact opposite, and the Government has taken a form which prac-

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tically duplicates the British Cabinet-system, of a responsible executive, consisting of a committee of the Legislature itself.

This surprising result flowed from the simplest causes. The public desire for the British form of executive was well known. To secure it all that was needed was co-operation between the nominal executive (the Governor-General) and the leaders of the majority in the Lower House. By the simple process of acting always upon the advice of the majority leaders, the Governor-General reproduces the British situation, and the executive branch of the Government, though carried on largely in his name, is actually controlled by the governing committee of the majority in the Lower House. In practise, therefore, the Dominion Cabinet, a committee of the Legislature, appoints Judges and Senators, and could, if it chose, exercise the veto power and substantially all other executive functions, while the individual members of the Cabinet are the heads of the great executive departments.

Now, if this can be done in Canada, why cannot results of equal importance be reached south of the border? Why cannot some at least of the reforms desired by many be tested by similar means? Might not important changes be tried experimentally in some such manner? And would not an experiment so tried have the very great advantage, as compared with experimental constitutional amendments, that it could easily be abandoned if it failed, instead of requiring a popular upheaval to amend it out of the constitution again? Does this not offer an immediate means of obtaining many reforms—for example, many of those included in the rejected instrument proposed for New York State?

In the way of increasing the responsibility of Government, much might be done. For example, to put an extreme case, there is nothing to prevent a strong majority party in the State of New York from establishing, under the constitution as it stands, a form of responsible Government closely analogous to the British system. All that would be necessary would be co-operation between the Governor and the leaders in the Legislature. As the first step it would be necessary for the Legislature to abandon the present pernicious committee system, which, as Lord Bryce has pointed out, is the bane of all American legislative bodies. This system, by scattering responsibility for legislation among a

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score of separate committees, which act without reference to each other, and consist of men not known to the public in connection with their duties, makes the work of any legislature inharmonious and uncorrelated, and deprives the people of all real power of holding anyone accountable for bad measures. The members representing the majority party at any time could, however, by simple agreement, abolish this system, and make responsibility for all important legislation definite and certain by committing all important bills to a single leading committee, which could be given most of the important functions of the Canadian Provincial cabinets. In spite of the prohibition against the holding of executive office—presumably directed, in spirit, only against the holding of salaried office—by legislators—there would be nothing to prevent the Governor from designating each of the members of such a governing committee as his adviser with respect to the affairs of some particular executive department, and from acting on the advice of the advisers so designated. This would complete the resemblance to the cabinet system, and would furnish exactly the *rapprochement* between legislative and executive of which we feel such urgent need, giving the executive a mouthpiece in the Legislature, and the Legislature a voice in the carrying out of its enactments.

These are only fragmentary suggestions concerning a few of the profound changes in our actual Government which might be brought about without change in the text of our Constitution. The method would have at least two great advantages: methods and systems could safely be tested which no one would now dare incorporate in our Governmental machine in any such practically unchangeable manner as a constitutional amendment effects; and, on the other hand, those reforms for which constitutional amendment is clearly necessary—such as the Short Ballot—would be given a free field, and could be proposed to the electorate without being burdened by the opposition created by other measures.

JOSEPH H. CHOATE, JR.

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THE OPEN FORUM MOVEMENT

BY REV. PERCY STICKNEY GRANT, D.D.

THE purpose of the public forum movement is to afford the freest opportunity for the business man and the laboring man to arrive, by open discussion, at a better understanding of the vital questions affecting their relationship; to discover the drift of industrial progress; to guard against the menace of unjust industrial development; to forestall, by reasonable and humane ways, the settlement by sterner methods; to do its part toward the essential end that "the arrogance and whip of Capital and the distrust and evil weapons of Labor be laid aside, so that their hands may be free to join in the grip of a common interest."[1]

A recent brilliant critic of American life, H. G. Wells, with a clairvoyant perception of conditions in this country, has declared: "The American community is discovering a secular extinction of opportunity, and the appearance of powers against which individual enterprise and competition are hopeless. Enormous sections of the American public are losing their faith in any personal chance of growing rich and truly free, and are developing the consciousness of an expropriated class."[2]

But Mr. Wells makes no discovery. He is merely an observer like others before him.

"What wrong road have we taken," asked Emerson in 1848, "that all the improvements in machinery have helped everybody but the operatives? Here they have incurably hurt." Thirty years later Henry George startled complacent America by asking why poverty persisted while wealth increased. His unpalatable formula, "the poor are growing poorer and the rich are growing richer," was made more agreeable by Carroll D. Wright, who explained that as

[1] Joseph S. Auerbach, *North American Review*, December, 1905.

[2] H. G. Wells, *The Future in America*, p. 81.

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the poor were not improving their condition at the rate the rich were advancing, the distance between them was increasing. Without doubt it is becoming vastly harder, as John Mitchell points out, for a workingman to advance beyond his sort of job or out of his class.

"The fact which is most full of meaning at the end of the Nineteenth Century," wrote Prof. Macgregor in his *Evolution of Industry,* "is the existence of an absolute surplus or human residue which is pauper in fact though not in name."

This thrusting asunder of the two economic sides of our population has been recently checked up by the figures of Prof. Scott Nearing, and by the income tax. Prof. Nearing discovered that among wage workers in America four-fifths of the adult males are receiving wages that do not meet a low estimated expense of adequate family maintenance. The income tax lists show that less than one-half of one per cent. of our population has an income over $3,000 a year. In England the wages of workingmen do not pay for their actual standard of living; at least 15 per cent. is represented by private charities and national services.

In 1850, according to the analysis of the census by Sidney A. Reeve, of every dollar in America, 70 per cent. represented production and 30 per cent. competitive fight for some share of it. In 1900 the ratio was reversed. Out of every dollar, 30 per cent. represented production and 70 per cent. represented the cost of competition. The attempt of the larger share of the country's energy to live upon the product of the smaller portion naturally increases the burden of the wage-worker. "It is in fact the sole reason for any burden at all upon the wage-earners or for unemployment."

While 9,000,000 American workers—according to the estimate of the New York City Employment Bureau—were out of employment last Winter, one American fortune financed the feeding of a foreign nation. While at least 400,000 in New York had no work, collections of porcelains and pictures offered for sale there brought high prices. A working girl living in New York upon $6 a week, recently expressed the wish sometimes to have a meal that cost thirty cents. At the same time, there are apartments in New York that rent for $30,000; there are women who spend $25,000 a year on clothes and pay in loss of interest an equal amount to wear their jewels.

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Individuals are not wholly to blame for this condition of things; industrial evolutionary forces, not understood until the mischief was done, are also responsible. We can see now that the workingman under the financial handling of the modern factory system lost his status; that his wages practically buy off his interest in the firm; that machinery and joint stock companies contributed to push apart employers and employes, and that "the Nineteenth Century in working out of the idea of power by means of combination has stratified and classified the people to an enormous extent."[1] So economic analysis confirms and explains the separation of classes that conditions indicated and that statistics proved.

Evidently these processes of class separation, as inhuman in their effects as war itself, cannot go on indefinitely without a catastrophe. In America they have already led to bloodshed. Within the last three years we have seen three exhibitions of civil war: in West Virginia, in Michigan, and in Colorado. "Habit alone," says William James, "is what keeps us all within the bounds of ordinance and saves the children of fortune from the envious uprisings of the poor." But habits can be changed, especially under the incentive of starvation or injustice.

These deadly clashes, which breed a worse hatred than that which gives rise to them, cannot be banished from our attention by calling them mere exhibitions of an industrial unrest as old as the pyramids. The exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt was a strike in which the workers did not return to their work, but migrated. The French Revolution was a strike which cost the employers their heads and their status. Nor can we forever "jolly" the laborer by telling him that he possesses luxuries that kings of old did not dream of. Jauntily to talk about the inevitableness of industrial unrest does not harmonize class differences. The question is, what is going to stop this pulling asunder before it is too late? What is going to bring the hostile industrial forces of our national life together? What is going to make us really one people—in sympathies, ideals, and institutions? The labor question, of course, is a nuisance; but we can say of it what Emerson said of the question of slavery: "It has a right to be heard and the people plagued with it until something is done."

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[1] Macgregor's *Evolution of Industry*.

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We are safe in saying that the desired results of industrial peace and of national unity are not to be secured by improving coercive machinery. To destroy trade unions; to organize State constabularies; to deny free speech or give it impossible definition; to increase the list of offenses for which arrest is equivalent to conviction; to rob workingmen of adequate political representation, is not a solution of our problems of class estrangement.

Nor are we encouraged to look for intellectual and sympathetic leadership where ordinarily some leadership is expected. Our most powerful financiers and captains of industry are not ashamed to testify on the witness stand that they have not studied the problems involved in the present issues—that they do not understand the labor question. Naturally, therefore, they cannot offer any help.

Our political parties represent in their primary differences not economic, but constitutional positions. They are essentially conservative; even their liberalism is considerate of the small capitalist rather than of the proletariat. The New York Constitutional Convention gave no heed to the memorial and recommendations of the labor organizations. A great newspaper even taunted the labor men with their inability to retaliate. I can discover no friendliness in American politics toward the problems of the working classes.

The clergy notably display a more human sympathy with the workingman's economic problems, but officially the churches are timid, and their laymen are too often reactionary. In the churches there is being developed a new economic orthodoxy which enfeebles their contribution to the labor problem. Some high ecclesiastics go so far as to declare that the procession of life with its most exalted spiritual vision is passing along outside the church. On the other hand, there are some who quote Jesus to the effect that the division of wealth is not a religious problem.

Colleges do not teach economics and sociology in a fashion to meet the situation. There are a few professors to whom many people are indebted, men like Prof. Ely and Prof. Ross of Wisconsin; Prof. Patten of Pennsylvania; Prof. Seligman and Prof. Giddings of Columbia; and a few like Prof. J. B. Clark, who are trusted because beloved. But our colleges have neither led public opinion on the labor problem nor qualified their graduates to deal with it. The

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trustees of one of our leading universities are just now publicly declaring that economics should teach only what is agreeable to capitalists.

The working people are well aware of the hostility of the capitalistic classes and institutions. They look for no help outside themselves. They have been deceived and disappointed so often by pretended friends that they resent help from outside their own class; to accept it has become a mark of class disloyalty.

In default of constructive help from accredited leaders in business, politics, religion and education, volunteers have come forward with new agencies which attempt to correct destructive industrial tendencies; to bring together the extremes of democracy; to spread a more hopeful theory of human nature than that upon which conservative fears are reared, and to broaden the reach of economic education.

University settlements, founded about thirty years ago, set out to bring the culture of English college cloisters to London slums. "They are homes in the poorer quarters of a city where educated men and women may come in daily personal contact with people." Frederic Denison Maurice's Workingmen's College, founded in 1860; Edward Denison's attempt to make his home in the East End of London in 1867; Arnold Toynbee's residence in White Chapel with the Rev. S. A. Barnett of St. Jude's in 1875, and the building of Toynbee Hall in 1885, mark the steps, and at the same time disclose the college and church impulse, that led to the rise of university settlements.

In 1883 the Rev. Dr. William S. Rainsford became Rector of St. George's Church, New York. Before taking charge of the parish or forming especial plans for carrying it on, he had a survey made of the neighborhood. He then founded such organizations as seemed to him suitable for meeting the racial, local or class needs of his parish. This was the first scientific diagnosis of parochial work that I am aware of, and it developed a group of social institutions around it that gave the name "institutional church" to St. George's, and to the large number of parishes since then more or less modeled upon it.

The essence of institutional church work is home extension. It undertakes to make up for the poverty-stricken, limited and often vicious surroundings of the tenement house by supervising entertainment, encouraging education

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and physical culture,—in fact, by doing for the children and youth of the poor what a well-to-do family would like to do for its own.

Afterward came the social settlements which attempted more complete co-operation with whatever initiative the slums themselves disclosed. They recognized how much the workingman is trying to do for himself, and proffered their assistance. They put educated and friendly energy into existing popular institutions. They aided neighborhood agencies, school boards, health boards, libraries, the use of parks, labor unions, advantageous racial customs, etc.

More recently, community centers have organized a neighborhood club in the schoolhouse. Freed from racial, religious, and political antagonism, the schoolhouse, because a patriotic and neutral institution, is their rallying place.

They have created a self-governing citizens' movement, taking in not only grown-ups, but young people of both sexes. Games, dancing, athletics, evening classes, lectures, political addresses, "movies," etc., are provided. Started in Rochester, New York, there are now scores of these community centers in the United States, especially in the West.

The open forum is another undertaking to provide a common meeting place for the rich and the poor, free from traditional impediments; to bring together in a humane atmosphere the extremes of society. Like the agencies we have been considering, the open forum bases its action not upon dogmas, traditions, or precedents, but upon the urgent needs of the present and an intelligent view of the future.

Nietzsche says: "The important question for you is not where did you come from, but where are you going?" Walter Lippmann condenses this into his maxim: "Substitute purpose for tradition." The new psychology tells us that "a philosophical study of living beings shows that they may be graded according to the amount of purpose they manifest."[1] But where are we going? What should be our purpose? Is it not safe to say (if we pay attention to the lessons of industrial evolution) that the world is moving toward a greater democracy, toward the spread of freedom, opportunity, and wealth—in fact, toward the highest development for the largest number of human beings by means of the material and spiritual advantages of self-government?

The open forum, although a new device for amplifying

[1] L. E. Emerson, *Psychoanalytic Review*, Oct., 1915, p. 425.

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social and industrial conditions, has had an interesting history: The People's Institute was established in 1897 and offered in Cooper Union, at the head of the Bowery, New York, a strategic meeting place for ideas and men. Charles Sprague-Smith, the founder, conceived the plan while a professor of comparative literature in Columbia. He discovered in literature the story of the common laws of social progress, and he longed, as he told me, to get his hands directly into the material of human life. So he gave up comparative literature and set about arousing enthusiasm among the people for a freer, fuller existence.

At the People's Institute, lecturers of wide reputation addressed East Side audiences of thirty nationalities. The audience could ask questions, but could not make speeches. The lecture was often preceded by music and recitations, but not by recognized religious exercises. Later a club house was founded and many valuable forms of social service undertaken.

The invited speakers, under the grilling of an astute and well-read democracy, were taught never to make a statement which they could not back up; they also learned the protective value of a good chairman (Mr. Sprague-Smith) who would not permit them to be put into too deep holes by the audience, although he could not prevent them sometimes from jumping in themselves to their own chagrin, and to the amusement of their tormentors. Prof. Charles Sprague-Smith, philologist, poet, educator in good will, champion of the people, died in middle life as the result of over-work in behalf of this great undertaking. The People's Institute is now led by one of our most enlightened Americans, Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration.

The " Public Forum (Inc.) of the Church of the Ascension " was founded in 1907 by the Rector of the Parish and the Rev. Alexander Irvine. If crowds will listen to soapbox orators on street corners; if workmen in factories will give part of their precious noon recess to listen to Y. M. C. A. speakers, should not religious bodies, which control more good auditoriums than anybody else, and have less use for them, offer hospitality in their churches to such groups, and if necessary organize these opportunities under favorable conditions? The Forum undertook to make a church a shelter for what might otherwise have been open-air meetings of all sorts and conditions of men, interested in dis-

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cussing modern social and industrial ideas. It was a frank attempt by a church to find out what workingmen, according to their own showing, wanted, and what they considered to be the duty of the Church. The Public Forum audience may debate the subject as well as ask questions.

Since the founding of this forum, several churches in New York and the neighborhood have opened similar forums—notably the Church of the Holy Trinity, in Brooklyn, of which the Rev. J. Howard Melish is Rector; the Church of the Messiah, where the Rev. John Haynes Holmes is Pastor, and the Free Synagogue, under Dr. Stephen S. Wise. Even as far away as Houma, Louisiana, St. Matthews (Episcopal) Church has established a forum. There is also a forum in Starr King's old parish (Unitarian) in San Francisco. Church forums received the endorsement of the Universalists at their Chicago Convention of 1914.

Ford Hall, on Beacon Hill, Boston, was founded by the Baptist Union in 1908. It offers an open forum of a broad and sympathetic type, publishes a paper of its proceedings, and carries on social work. The Ford Hall meetings, through their extension committees, have been instrumental in establishing in New England municipalities, towns and schools, more than thirty forums, modeled more or less closely upon Ford Hall, but with distinctive undertakings described by the specific conditions of their position. Mr. George Coleman, who is responsible for Ford Hall, has exceptional clearness of vision and breadth of sympathy.

The Labor Temple was opened by the Presbyterian Board of Missions, at Second Avenue and Fourteenth Street, New York, in an old building that was formerly a parish church. Owing to its situation on the East Side, and the close connection between its founder, the Rev. Charles Stelzle (who knows more about trade unions than any clergyman in America) and also because it specializes in labor matters, the Labor Temple has developed a highly unified work, now in charge of Rev. Jonathan C. Day, and keeps very closely in touch with a large number of working people.

The Labor Forum is a still later and different type of forum. It meets in a public schoolhouse—the Washington Irving High School on Irving Place. It has no religious exercises or motives, nor is it neutral (as radicals regard

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the church forums). The Labor Forum is the announced advocate of the working classes. An enthusiastic, devoted, and self-sacrificing leader, Mr. Carl Beck, is responsible for its origin and excellence.

In addition to forums which use the English language, there are forums that use Italian and Russian—as the "*Foro Italiano, a* Ford Hall *dirimpetto la* State House" in Boston, and a Russian forum in New York.

The forum has proved particularly attractive to recent immigrants. Its democracy corresponds to their native ideal—an ideal too often destroyed by their early experiences in their adopted country. The forum helps them to some discrimination in fixing blame for their ill-treatment; it offers them a mouthpiece for the woes they ran away from on the other side of the water and for those they have run into in America.

Another type of forum is "The Hungry Club" of Pittsburgh. According to its able and enthusiastic secretary, Charles C. Cooper, "The Hungry Club" is the only organization of its kind in the world. "Its membership consists of several hundred business and professional men who 'want to know.' It has no constitution nor by-laws. It has no formal organization. It has no business sessions and no regular officials. It never takes a vote. It never endorses anything. It is Pittsburgh's open forum for the presentation of both sides of public questions."

In spite of the diverse elements which make up the membership of an open forum, it would be a mistake to suppose that it is a Cave of Adullam, made up of malcontents, "down-and-outers," and blatherskites. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth.

The questions asked and the speeches made from the audience of the Public Forum give surprising evidences of knowledge, seriousness and ability.

The trouble with the Church in dealing with economic problems is that it is not free and is not illumined. The Church has not substituted purpose for tradition. It is concerned much more with where it came from than where it is going. Does it, in fact, know where it is going? The Church Militant on earth becoming the Church Triumphant in heaven is no longer a panorama that seems real to us.

The Church, unluckily, has adopted the reigning economics and is merely a rubber stamp to commercialism.

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This is the reason it has nothing to say about the war. It sees with the eye of bankers, statesmen, diplomats and manufacturers. It is not ahead of them but behind them. The forum is a school in which the Church can secure a more spiritual view of material things.

The forum is a device by which the people become articulate. "Silence is for the poor," declared Lamennais, the French priest, who labored for the freedom of the working classes within the Roman Church, and was driven out of it. Any institution that gives voice to the poor is an emancipator, for it breaks their worst shackle—silence. The cause that can be heard is in a way to secure its ends. A people that is articulate is on its way to victory. Church forums offer, as does nothing else to-day, an opportunity for the poor to be heard—a timely instrument just now when free speech has been so much abridged in public places. Dread of free speech has come to such a pass that the hall in Paterson which burned down after Emma Goldman spoke in it was considered by many religious people to have been directly destroyed by divine wrath.

America needs, too, the fearlessness and the thoroughness essential to open discussion which omits no element of criticism and leaves no danger unconsidered. Our national optimism inclines us to avoid serious problems; our easy material progress renders us forgetful of underlying difficulties. We are irritated at criticism of our institutions. We club and jail unpleasant prophets. The May Day Labor Parade in 1914 had this banner: "You may jail our leaders but you cannot jail our ideas." America must offer more safety valves to such explosive truths, to such suppression and injustice, especially when assailed by the new slogan of Privilege: "You may have the right, but we have the power."

Much of the present-day labor trouble is caused by the disappearance of the old-fashioned employer of labor who was successful in building up a business because he knew his men and how to treat them. The absentee employer is an economic danger. The striker is in revolt against hidden forces, not against persons, for he does not know them. The open forum, by contriving a better acquaintance between classes, helps this situation. One violent radical told me that he learned in the public forum that capitalists were human.

A public forum unites the university with the town meet-

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ing. An expert is called in to lead the conferences; then the people thrash out the subject in open debate. So it provides a combination of science and democracy. The forum is giving back to America the town meeting which the growth of cities has robbed it of.

Open forums are not only harmonizers and educators of classes into a truer social unity. Their practical accomplishment also may be valuable.

An officer of the Public Forum (Inc.) led to Albany the committee whose labors resulted in the appointment of the New York Factory Commission. The Public Forum organized the first democratically run community center in New York, called by an expert the best in the eastern part of the United States.

The Prison Committee of the Public Forum brought to the attention of officials abuses in the Penitentiary and Workhouse, which are in process of being remedied.

The Legal Committee is providing volunteer counsel in the woman's court for defendants too poor or too ignorant to secure it for themselves.

The Relief Bureau is a daily ministry to prisoners—especially women—discharged from Blackwell's Island.

A question I frequently hear is: Why have the open forums (good enough things in themselves, no doubt) been conducted in consecrated churches and church buildings? What has religion to do with economics? In spite of an imposing list of advantages, why tie up this new undertaking to religion; why call meetings at which economics are talked in churches; why hold these on Sundays?

Economics are teaching the Church of to-day so much that the Church may well show some appreciation. In fact, if economics can inspire religion, then there is a natural relationship between them. The present humanizing of the dismal science is giving new faith to the Church. The brotherliness of international labor unions and of Socialism is helping the Church to recover the vision of a world of peace and good will. The multiplication of food and clothing—their easy preservation and transportation—are leading the Church to believe that poverty can be abolished. The organization of vast numbers in effective labor point to new unity and effectiveness among the devout. The loyalty and self-sacrifice of the working people for each other is a new Pentecost—a new outpouring of spiritual energy which speaks in

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strange tongues, but tells of holy things. In spite of the temporary recessions of the war, these movements are to-day the brightest encouragements to humanity.

A better understanding between the rich and poor is a moral as well as an economic question. The rich must perceive how unfair it is for them to waste human labor in frivolous amusement, unnecessary possessions and injurious consumption. Short of the winnings of roulette, some American business men seem to think one dollar is as good looking and respectable as another. Why should workmen worry then because they expect pay without giving good work or full time? If they could get the dollar for absolute incompetence and for no work at all, they would only be securing what political jobs, corporation salaries, speculative pools, very often provide for their favorites—pay for no equivalent. There is no more profoundly *moral* question than what a man does for his income and with his income. The relation between income and service must become one of the great themes of religion.

PERCY STICKNEY GRANT.

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SUFFRAGE AND PROHIBITION

BY L. AMES BROWN

A SHORT time after President Wilson committed himself to suffrage as a State issue, I heard a thoughtful student of American politics declare that the turn he had detected of the suffrage movement "back to the States" presaged a similar tendency on the part of the Hobson movement. Certainly, if I could detect a disposition on the part of the electorate to relegate both prohibition and suffrage to the category of State issues, I should construe it as evidence of a more careful habit of thought on the part of the people generally, and attribute it in considerable measure to the conservative influence of the war as affecting American psychology. Such a tendency seems by no means improbable to persons who have noted other evidences of conservation growing out of the war's influence.

Undoubtedly the idea that suffrage and prohibition are closely linked has persisted for a very long time. The first recorded instance I have found in which such a relationship was implied was the adoption by the National Brewers Congress in 1881 of a resolution condemning the suffrage movement. In the recent suffrage campaign in New Jersey the charge of liquor opposition cropped out in the speech of a suffragist at Montclair, New Jersey, who declared that the liquor interests of the State had raised a fund to finance the anti-suffrage fight. In the same month President Neil Bonner, of the National Retail Liquor Dealers Association, announced that he would vote against the suffrage amendment in Pennsylvania and predicted the defeat of the movement in both Pennsylvania and New Jersey, although he specified that "The liquor men have taken no official action against suffrage," and added, "So far as the liquor business is concerned, it has not been hurt by suffrage in the West."

Mr. Taft thus referred to the supposed connection between the suffrage and prohibition movements in a recent magazine article: "It is said that women will vote for prohi-

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bition, and that, therefore, if they are given the vote we shall be rid of the saloon evil. To those of us who do not think that the saloon evil can be abolished, general prohibition, either national or State-wide, in States with large cities, and that the result of the effort would be worse than present conditions, this argument does not appeal. The lack of experience in affairs and the excess of emotion on the part of women in reaching their political decisions upon questions of this kind, are what would lower the average practical sense and self-restraint of the electorate in case they were admitted to it now."

The *Financial World* for September, 1907, said: "The opponents of the liquor industry have a powerful press, the church, and woman's organizations on their side."

Suffrage and anti-suffrage propagandists regard the relation between suffrage and prohibition as an almost forbidden topic, and both sides have been exceedingly chary of expressing their views. The prohibitionists have announced their unalterable determination not to meddle in any political affairs in which drink reform is not at issue.

Some time ago the chairman of the publicity department of one of the suffrage organizations wrote me in response to an inquiry I had made:

"You will find it difficult to get very far into the question of relationship between the suffrage movement and the prohibition movement by correspondence. The women differ quite widely in their views on this subject, and one thing which they have learned is that the expression of opinion one way or the other will be seized upon by the other side and used against suffrage. They are exceedingly chary of discussing the question."

Another woman, who is the leader of an important anti-suffrage organization, was kind enough to give her personal views very frankly and to aid me in locating certain published data on the attitude of women in prohibition elections, but she was careful to make the interview conditional upon my promise not to regard anything she said as official.

Mr. Taft's frank opposition to suffrage, expressed in a magazine article not long ago, when the suffrage campaigns in New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania were at their height, drew a long and critical reply from Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, head of the publicity department of the New York State Campaign Committee, which was published in a New

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York newspaper. Mrs. Harper did not take any notice of Mr. Taft's reference to the supposed relation between suffrage and prohibition, which I have quoted heretofore, and when I wrote to her calling this omission to her attention she responded: "As we are in the midst of a campaign we are not confusing this with the prohibition issue."

These little excerpts are characteristic of a number of expressions I have received which establish the fact that both sides have made up their minds that it would be politically unwise for them to adopt a definite attitude with reference to the prohibition movement. Rather do they prefer to deal with local conditions in the States or smaller political divisions in which their campaigns are made. Thus, suffrage orators, in sections where anti-prohibition sentiment is predominant, have taken issue with liquor men who charged that suffrage would result in prohibition. Note the following excerpt from an anti-suffrage pamphlet on suffrage and prohibition:

In the recent campaign in Chicago, February, 1914, Miss Marion H. Drake, who was nominated for alderman in the First ward, was quoted in the newspapers as standing for "free lunch and saloons."

Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, a prominent woman suffragist of Wisconsin, made, before the Manufacturers and Dealers' Club of Milwaukee, in addressing the assembled brewers, the statement: "Why all this hue and cry about woman suffrage injuring the brewing industry? Isn't it a little foolish?"

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, in an address, said she would welcome the support of the brewers, and praised Mrs. Benedict for her work among the representatives of that interest.

Mrs. Minnie Reynolds, for the National Suffrage Association, recently challenged anyone to find a word concerning prohibition among the pamphlets issued by the association.

Hugh Fox, Secretary of the United Brewers' Association, in a letter printed in the report of the hearing in December, 1913, before the Committee on Rules of the House on the resolution establishing a Committee on Woman Suffrage, said: "The United Brewers' Association states that the anti-suffragists have never received nor asked for contributions from them, although," he adds, "we have had appeals from the other side."

May Wright Sewall said, October 30, 1913, in Milwaukee, "Votes for women will no more prohibit drink than they will prohibit food."

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association and one of the leaders in the lobby at Springfield which brought about the enactment of the suffrage bill, said:

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" It is a great pleasure to remember that some of the firmest supporters of the suffrage measure in the Forty-Eighth General Assembly were some of the so-called ' wets.' "

So much for the traditional aspect of the belief that women would destroy the saloon as soon as they had the power to do so. Recently the belief has been challenged in many quarters, and statements have been circulated that women who have the ballot have not taken any strong stand as a class for prohibition, and that, so far as the fate of the prohibition movement is concerned, the balloting of women has had little effect. Not long ago, in a paper on prohibition in the *Atlantic Monthly,* I took occasion to point out that a number of Congressmen voted identically on the prohibition and suffrage resolutions at the last Congress, and to refer to the generally credited belief that the two movements are mutually helpful. It produced a vigorous protest from a thoughtful New England woman who declared that the facts relating to elections in which both issues had figured discredited the belief I had referred to. In February, 1915, the District of Columbia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage caused to be inserted in the *Congressional Record* an interesting collection of facts relating to suffrage and prohibition elections, designed to show that woman suffrage has had little effect in bringing prohibition to the States which are now in the " dry " column.

This anti-suffrage statistician featured the attitude toward prohibition of California, a suffrage State. The opposition of California women to prohibition has apparently been of long standing, for it caused Eugene W. Chapin, former candidate of the Prohibition Party for President, to say, in 1914: " The support expected by prohibitionists in California from women has not developed." For instance, in San Francisco, at a local option election at which 46,665 women registered, the total vote for local prohibition was only 15,087. The conclusion drawn by the statistician from a study of returns from various California cities, including Los Angeles, Santa Monica, Pasadena and Redondo, is that the women stayed away from the polls and therefore did not make their influence felt in the California State elections. In 1914 the State of California rejected a prohibition amendment to the Constitution by an overwhelming majority, and decided in the same election that the liquor question should not be voted upon again for eight years.

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It seems to me, however, that any generalities that may be based upon the California election as to the attitude of women voters toward prohibition are invalidated by peculiar local conditions. The condition in this respect is different in California from that in any other State in the Union. The women in California, when they vote on the prohibition issue, vote on a matter that affects the material welfare of practically everyone of them; for California is of course the largest wine producing State in the Union, and a large percentage of the families of the State are, in some measure, dependent upon the industry for support. So it is that in the various local option and State prohibition elections, California women have permitted the moral side of the issues presented to be obscured by their material interest in the outcome.

California seems to be the chief exhibit of the anti-suffragists who contend that women do not favor anti-liquor legislation. For the rest, the statistician points out that Colorado, which has been a suffrage State for twenty-two years, voted " wet " by 40,000 majority in 1912, and in 1914 voted " dry " by a majority of 11,572.

The anti-suffrage statistician closes her case against woman suffrage in the following paragraph:

> It has been charged that the liquor interest defeated suffrage in the five States that rejected it November 3, 1914, yet the only two States that adopted it at the time were Montana and Nevada, two of the " wettest " States in the Union, and States where there never was any territory voted " dry," while North Dakota, a prohibition State; South Dakota, 68 per cent; Nebraska, 56 per cent, and Ohio, 52 per cent " dry," all defeated woman suffrage last year. The cities of Lincoln, Omaha, and Fremont, Nebraska—cities with large brewing and liquor interests—collectively gave a majority for woman suffrage, while the country districts of that State (in which are many " dry " counties) gave over 10,000 majority against it.

The charge of some anti-suffragists that the influence of the women voters has not been thrown on the side of prohibition is not upheld by a survey of the election results and conditions in the twelve suffrage States. It is true that California, because of local conditions, went overwhelmingly against prohibition in 1914, but in the same year four other suffrage States—Colorado, Washington, Oregon and Arizona—in which suffrage had been effective for twenty-two,

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three, five and three years respectively, adopted prohibition. Kansas, which has been a prohibition State since 1880, adopted suffrage in 1912. In Idaho, where suffrage has been in effect nineteen years, strong temperance sentiment prevails, and the prohibition forces are hopeful of an early victory. Utah, which has been a suffrage State for nineteen years, is "about as near State-wide prohibition as any license or local option State in the Union," according to the current Anti-Saloon League Year Book, although it is true that the influence of women in Salt Lake City local option elections has not been exerted on the side of anti-liquor legislation. In Wyoming, the oldest suffrage State, local prohibition has made extensive advances, and the Anti-Saloon League Year Book announces that the State is now under prohibition, except in certain classes of incorporated municipalities. In Illinois, where the women have Presidential suffrage, 53 counties have local prohibition. Conditions in that State are described in the following excerpt from the last annual report of the Superintendent of the Illinois Anti-Saloon League:

> The woman's suffrage bill, which could not have been passed without the almost unanimous support of the men who were elected by the help of the Anti-Saloon League, has proven to be the most valuable piece of temperance legislation the State has enacted. . . . The Illinois suffrage law demands that there be separate ballot boxes for the women inasmuch as they have only limited suffrage. This makes it possible to know just how the women vote on the wet and dry question. On account of the majorities found in the women's ballot boxes, 900 of the 1,150 saloons (outlawed a year ago by local elections) were closed.

Nevada, where only nine per cent of the people live under local prohibition, and Montana, which has practically no anti-liquor laws, both adopted suffrage in 1914.

It would seem, therefore, that the possession of the ballot by women is an asset of the prohibitionists in the bulk of the States where they are campaigning, with the exception of California; or, in other words, that to a considerable extent the sentiment for the two movements is co-extensive. The latter part of this supposition apparently is borne out by the fact that in 1914 the people of Ohio voted against suffrage at the same time that they voted against prohibition, and that in Missouri the adoption of a county unit law was prevented in the same vote which was registered against

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woman suffrage. There are other means of verifying this conclusion.

The House of Representatives voted on the Hobson prohibition resolution December 24, 1914, and on the Mondell suffrage resolution January 12, 1915. A study of the two votes should furnish valuable information as to the relation of suffrage and prohibition, for a highly important factor in the profession of being a Congressman is skill in sounding public sentiment among one's constituency, or, in political phrase, "keeping one's ear to the ground." I doubt if at any time in the recent history of the Government, members of the House took more pains to attune their votes to the attitude of their constituencies than they did on the Hobson and Mondell roll calls.

The most impressive fact outstanding from a study of the two roll calls is that 106 members voted affirmatively on both resolutions. This shows conclusively that 106 Congressional districts were regarded by their representatives in Congress as being favorable to both movements, or at least as having compact minorities favorable to both. It is interesting to note that while 38 of the 67 Congressmen who represent the suffrage States voted for the Hobson resolution, only 32 of these Congressmen voted affirmatively on both the Hobson and the Mondell resolutions. The vote of the members from suffrage States was almost solid in favor of the Hobson resolution except in the case of California and Illinois, whose delegations number 38 members but who cast only 14 votes for the Hobson resolution. The following table sets forth an analysis of the vote of the suffrage States:

	For Mondell and Hobson resolutions.	For Hobson resolution.	Total State vote.
Wyoming	1	1	1
Colorado	3	4	4
Utah	0	0	2
Idaho	1	2	2
Washington	4	5	5
California	3	3	11
Oregon	3	3	3
Arizona	1	1	1
Kansas	6	6	8
Illinois	9	11	27
Nevada	0	0	1
Montana	1	2	2
	32	38	67

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The Hobson resolution received a heavy vote from the delegations of the States in which suffrage campaigns had been made recently and in which a strong minority sentiment for equal suffrage may be said to prevail. For instance, Michigan, where a suffrage campaign was made in 1912, cast nine of her thirteen votes for the Hobson resolution; Pennsylvania, where a vote on suffrage was taken November, 1915, cast twelve of her thirty-six votes for it; Missouri, where the suffrage campaign is being carried forward with considerable agitation, cast twelve of her sixteen votes for it; Iowa cast seven of her eleven votes for it; New Jersey and Massachusetts, where an unsuccessful suffrage campaign was in preparation, cast one vote each for it, while the New York vote was solidly against it. Of course the South, where the suffrage movement is not yet organized, gave its complete support to the Hobson resolution, while withholding it from the Mondell resolution.

Enmity against a common foe does not always result in an alliance between two crusaders, but it can not fail to produce a feeling of benevolent neutrality. This has been shown to be the case in respect of the attitude of the suffragist in the West. May we not expect, therefore, that prohibition advocates will find the progress of their agitation more easy of accomplishment in the East, now that suffragists have piled up such big minority votes in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, as was done in the October and November elections? Prohibition will have to fight the same liquor influence and many of the same organized political influences which opposed the suffrage amendments. The task may be even harder for the prohibitionists than it was for the suffragists, but it can not be doubted that some of the difficulties have been ameliorated by the suffrage campaigns.

L. Ames Brown.

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THE FUGITIVE

BY HERMANN HAGEDORN

Lights, lights and faces, wheels, and faint, far stars!
Tumult and shouts and ever the surging crowds
Struggling, with shrieks of laughter and wild horns,
Rattles and rustle of impertinent plumes,
Whistles and calls and perfume like strong poison.
Lights! In the streets the glare, and in the sky
Orgies of tumbling and upsoaring blaze,
Magnificently tawdry. Everywhere,
White lights to keep the ghosts away; bright lights,
To dazzle maidens, blind exultant youths,
Stir sleeping demons, make the ducats dance!
Lights for the dead, white lights for the white dead!

She stood, she turned. Between the shuffling crowds
Unsteadily a minute, back and forth
She swayed, and laughed with impudent red mouth
At one man's whistle and another's plume,
At one man's banter, and another's kiss,
Elbowing right and left till she stood clear.
She caught her breath. Her hat hung by one pin
Loosely in her dishevelled, heavy hair.
She drew back, took it off, and looked about.
The crowd was just the crowd. The boy was gone.
A block back somewhere some lightheaded thing
Had knocked his hat off, and for all she knew
Carried him off with her. He was fair game;
And there were other men with rolls to spend,
She said; and chewed her hatpins like a bit,
Glad for the minute to stand still, and watch
The wild midwinter madness surge and toss;
Glad to be silent, to be free, to breathe,
To fix her hair and subjugate her hat.
Lights, lights and faces! Without end, the crowd
Shuffled and jostled past her, blowing horns

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Like angels of derision, trumping doom.
She laughed to see how drunk most of them were.
The new year would grin down on many a Judge,
Rapping for order in distracted heads—
Hang-overs. Yes. And hers would be the worst,
Since underneath the laughter of the phrase
Something more real than stomach-penitence
Would stir and speak, refusing to be still.
She laughed for spite and blew her horn, and laughed;
Sending her eyes exploring for a purse
To buy her cakes and ale. Her eyes were dark,
Deep, purple, laughter-like, alluring eyes;
Torches of heaven yet unquenched, or quenched,
So far removed from earth that still their light
Beat through dark nights as from the living stars.
She saw dead eyes make answer; with a laugh,
Repelling, heaven knew why, the masks that came,
Gift-bearing for her favor: blank, dead eyes,
Gross lips that tooted horns.

And still the sea
In two strong currents swept the faces past.
She saw the boy press, searching, through the crowd,
And her heart opened. He was seeking her.
Her eyes spoke, but her lips were dumb. She stood,
Cold as a dead tree, rigid as a wall.
She saw his head a minute, clear and firm
Above the crowd, the clean and eager chin,
Tilted a little, seeking purer air—
The crowd surged on, the suitors swore and went.
The horns blew louder; whistles from the bay
Tooted harsh greeting to the infant year.
Ten thousand voices bellowed; then once more,
Horns, horns and whistles, rattles and horns, horns!
Midnight! New Year! A new life! Horns, horns, horns!

She shook herself and laughed, cold to the marrow:
Laughter ironic, cynical, amused,
At scruples, waking rather late, she thought;
And, late or soon, alien to such as she
Who looked to purses, not to cheeks and eyes.
She smiled, but through the smile's coarse mockery
Peered something deeper, softening the lines
And brightening lashes with a hint of tears.
The boy was clear and clean to look upon.
He could make even base and bartered love
Smell sweet an hour. Why had she let him go,

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Pass into night and distance, fade like steam
Out of a liner's siren in the air,
Back to his own world, clean for a clean girl?
Why had she let such living eyes escape,
Such living lips, such laughter like buds blowing?
Only a little would her love have tarnished
The too bright gold; only a little edged
With ashy blight the rose's outer leaf.
Would he have missed the little gold she wanted?
Well, he was gone, sunk into night and time,
And God alone knew what perversity
Of indolence, or impulse gone awry
Had stayed her tongue, her feet. Well, he was gone.
Another purse would pay for her champagne.
She gasped, half sobbing; laughed, and wondered, whose?

Along Broadway the horns booed to the moon.
Across Times Square the crowd swayed, struggled, surged.
Northward and southward flowed the turgid streams.
She chose the southward current, loud and gay,
Blowing her horn, making her rattle sound;
Conscious no horns were blowing in her heart,
No rattles beating madness through her veins,
Yet too much child of the hilarious glare
To walk with solemn eyes when Broadway laughed.
She played her part. About her blew the horns
In Herald Square, about her lurched the crowds;
About her beat with flapping of loose sails
The tragic chattering of helmless ships.
She drifted southward with bleak aimlessness,
Suddenly lonely and depressed and sick
Of noise and streets and drunken men. The lights
Suddenly seemed to drive into her bones
Like gusts around street-corners. She went on.
The crowd grew thin, the noise at last was mute,
Save at long intervals, faint, far away,
A broken blast, a harsh and drunken cry.
She walked, and scarcely knew she walked. A clock
Struck musically, and above, a globe
High over men and houses and bare boughs,
Flashed one and two. She neither heard nor saw.
A gust about the Flatiron caught her hat
That tugged, balloon-wise, fiercely at her hair.
She bent her head and beat into the wind,
Onward, and knew not whither and not why,
Impelled by something stronger than desire
Into the empty, wind-blown wilderness.

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A Voice, within, said something.
She stopped dead,
And stood a minute with her eyes half closed
As one who listens for the fiery robes
Of spirits passing by. She knew that Voice,
That was so grave, and always questioned her.
This was not conscience. This was not a whip.
This was a friendly voice. It was a child's,
Sometimes, and now a girl's and now a woman's.
She heard it, cool and clear as bells at night.

Over her heart despair rolled in black waves.
Malicious tongues hooted, satiric mouths
Muttered, "Too late!" Derisive, leering lips
Shouted, "Remorse? What did you have to eat?"
She heard that friendly Someone questioning;
And venomously answering, the tongues
Malignantly with blow on bitter blow
Hurled defamation. Once it seemed to her
The Voice did more than question. Quietly,
Yet with assurance, as though every word
Bore heaven's great seal attesting God's assent,
It said absurd and wonderful, kind things
That were all lies, calling her true and pure
And of sweet promise—
And again despair
Swept her with wallowing, green, blinding seas
That left her shuddering; and again the Voice
Came and she hearkened, fighting to hear more.

The night was cold. In Union Square, the boughs
Crackled, ice-laden. Dark, deserted, bare,
Were streets and houses and the clouding heaven.
Far to the south, a car along cold rails
Clanked harshly, lonelily; a motor-horn
Honked on Fifth Avenue; somewhere, quick steps
Rang hollowly on pavement and were mute.
Fear of the bleak, unnatural emptiness
Woke in her soul. She ran. Her quick, short steps
Sounded like tumult of armed hosts in flight;
And frightened she stood still, lest at the sound
Indignantly the slumbering city wake.

Again the Voice, more searching and more near,
The questioning like true-love's hand-in-hand
Or eye-in-eye, tender beyond lip-speech.
She fled, despair at one ear, crying, "Damned!"

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Derision at the other, crying, " Fooled! "
A wilderness of windows dimly lit
Lay stretched before her, sloping vaguely down.
She fled. Along the narrow, infinite hell,
Walled into darkness upward beyond sight,
Were faces, white things, orbs of soulless fire!
Between the files of icy eyes she fled.
Higher the walls rose, limitless in night
Above her; limitless in night before
The lights ran on to unillumined chaos.
She fled. The friendly Voice rose to a cry
That shook her soul and broke against its walls
Into a thousand shards of mocking laughter.
Despair cried out, " Now are you satisfied? "
Derision jeered, " Now do you know yourself? "
She fled with stumbling steps and riotous heart.

Once more about her now were stars and trees,
A shining clock-face, towers; across the street,
A lighted restaurant, a sleepy maw,
Yawning behind the plate-glass door, a voice
Calling a paper shrilly out of space;
And shadowy, dim, among dim, shadowy trees
Hurrying shreds of night blown on the wind,
Figures of men. All these she saw or heard
Like people met in dreams; but still went on,
Suddenly conscious that the tongues were still,
That there was no more riot in her heart,
But one Voice only; and that roundabout
The pitiless walls had by some miracle
Been gloriously transmuted into spires,
Mysterious and holy. Like a nave
Broadway stretched out into the solemn dark.
Its silence was the silence of a church,
Merciful, beatific; and its lights
Were tapers, pure and calm as angel's eyes,
Watching the sacred tourney men call life.
She went, with lifted, eager, awestruck face.
Her heart was calm at last. Despair was dumb.
Shame, fear, derision had no arguments
Left to dismay her. With no thought of scorn
She let the Voice within her tell her tales
So strange, so full of wonder, that her feet
Forgot their heaviness and seemed as wings,
And nothing seemed behind her but the dark,
And nothing seemed before her but the day.

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And now once more she stood amid bare trees.
A biting wind blew at her hat and skirt.
She did not mind the wind, she did not hear
Its whistle and low wail, nor at her feet
The swish and beat of broken harbor-waves
Against the Battery wall. She saw no waves,
No shadowy ships, no shadowy Liberty,
Guarding the great dream-town. She felt the dark
Slip like a host defeated from her soul;
She felt the tread of sullen steps; she heard
The tread of steps retreating; faint with joy,
She heard the black invader with blurred drums
Draw back forever from her tortured heart.
She gasped, for round her being there was light.
She sank upon a bench. Her head span round.
She seemed to drink the light in through her pores;
Along her veins she felt the glory rush;
And in a flash like lightning saw herself
Through God's eyes . . .

Day arose and dimmed the stars,
And woke the towers from slumber, and the spires,
The boats, the wharves, the wagons, windows, streets.
With creak and whistle, rumble and sharp call
The City's gaunt machinery began
Slowly to turn its lesser wheels; the cogs
Met, groaning. Through the Narrows came
The new year sailing in a golden ship . . . .

HERMANN HAGEDORN.

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SAUL OF TARSUS

BY ELLWOOD HENDRICK

This essay is not written for good churchmen, whether they be of one denomination or another. If you go to church with diligence, and like it, and believe in the organization as it is, I can see no profit for you in these comments, for they are likely either to make you angry or to make you pity my ignorance. If you insist upon reading it, I commend to you the latter alternative, because if you grow angry, while it may do me no harm, it is very likely to injure you. And it would be unchristian. This is written by one who has great reverence and love for the life and words of Jesus, but to whom Christian dogma, as presented in the so-called Apostles' Creed, or with all the particulars and specifications of the Athanasian Creed, is unbelievable. It is designed for the unelect by one of themselves, yet in the belief that, if the world were to follow the advice of Jesus, the Kingdom of God would be at hand.

We have heard and read many discussions about why one should go to church, whether he should go or not, what the trouble is with the churches, and why people stay away from them. One claims that the churches are too orthodox, while another holds that if rigid orthodoxy be maintained the whole world will in time become wise and enlightened, and we shall all become Christians of one sort or another.

In all of these discussions I think we have failed to determine the crux of orthodoxy, and I shall make bold to suggest that this is Saul of Tarsus whom we know as Paul. The orthodox are followers of Paul; the unorthodox are not. And I shall go further than this, and say that it is Paul who keeps us apart, and who is the author of what many earnest Christians are seeking to rid themselves to-day.

We must remember that Jesus preached a very simple gospel, which anyone can understand. The substance of

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it is that we must keep love in our hearts; that anger and hatred and malice and revenge are all danger signals of that which is not of the Kingdom of God. So long as we keep love in our hearts we cannot go entirely astray, no matter what happens to us. The Jews, among whom he lived, were very like the orthodox Christians of our day: they had traditions and rites, and rules and regulations determined by priests and elders that offered a whole series of substitutes for righteousness. They were always making definitions and determining what was right and what was wrong, according to law. They did not look ahead, except for more power; they looked backward, and their business was to conserve the great treasures of wisdom that had been handed down to them by Moses and the prophets; and their noblest work was to interpret them.

What happened to Jesus when he went off into the wilderness we do not know, but he seems to have come back with the idea that as for the tradition among the Jews that someone should arise among them or come to them with a message that should establish the Kingdom of God, he had that message. It was a very simple one of love and forgiveness. He clung to it all through his life. He strove to make those who believed in it a colony so inspired by love and good-fellowship that all the rest of the world would see the folly of pride and self-seeking and join in a real Kingdom of God, Jews and Gentiles all. This was his ideal: very simple, very beautiful, and yet very difficult of attainment. In all the centuries that have passed since then, no thought so lovely has been given us. He would define nothing, determine nothing, establish nothing, and preach nothing except his one gospel of love. Judges, lawyers, pettifoggers, priests, elders,—all sorts of people tried to induce him to commit himself on one question or another, but they never succeeded. He would not dogmatize. If you have love in your heart, he held that you may be trusted to find answers to questions of conduct as they arise; without it neither laws nor rules can guide you.

Keeping the Sabbath, making offerings and sacrifices as prescribed, and all the whole list of rules and laws were as nothing without this one enlivening gospel of love. The only prejudice he appeared to have was against wealth, and it would seem that this was rather against the arrogance of wealth than a desire to inventory men's goods and fix

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a minimum. The Romans of his day were in some respects like the French under Napoleon, or the English people of forty years ago, or the Americans of the United States right after the Spanish War, or like the Germans just before the present war: a people fundamentally good, but maddened by success and boastful almost beyond endurance. Wealth threw men off their balance then as it does now with those not equipped to bear the strain; and it probably made many just such useless wastrels of women as it does to-day. It may be that we should gain wisdom by following him in this respect, and it surely would do us no harm to relax somewhat in our chase after wealth and our love for it. A certain young man was told to sell all that he had and give the proceeds to the poor, probably for good and sufficient reasons. But Joseph of Arimathea was another rich man, and for aught we know he kept his fortune all his life, with no harm to himself and to the good of his fellows. At all events, it is not of record that he was instructed to dispose of it. Jesus was not an economist, he did not claim to be one, and he would not be drawn into questions of economics or politics. He had a philosophy of life which was all-sufficient and basic: granted that in full operation, and humanity would be intelligent enough to meet whatever economic problems might arise. He had no dogma save love, and real, hearty good-fellowship.

It also appears that he thought the world was coming straightway to an end; but we must remember that the Gospels have been made up and copied and rewritten and modified to meet the views of the dogmatists that came after him. And whether or not he had such faith in the gospel of love that he believed the world would adopt it sooner than now seems possible with our many degenerates of wealth, of industry, and of ignorance, it is really we who are doing the guessing: he gave no dates. He knew that when this spirit of love and sympathy shall have spread itself over the earth, then the Kingdom of Heaven will be at hand; and it looks to me as though he had this in mind rather than the trumpeting, thunder-clapping, bone-jumping resurrection day of orthodoxy. Granted a reign of love and sympathy and good-fellowship over all the world, and we know that the spirit of Christ will be with us and animate us whether we look at it as mystics or as mechanistic biologists. I postulate that there is no other dogma in the teachings of Jesus.

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Now enters Paul. We meet him first as a dogmatist, and a dogmatist he always remained. He appeared as an organizer of orthodox Jews, and he spent the rest of his life in organizing and establishing dogma in Christianity. He seems to have over-estimated the change that came over him on his conversion, for his was the same energetic, impatient and domineering personality afterwards that it was before. He was the very opposite of him he called his master. He had a remarkable gift of expression; as a maker of phrases he was unsurpassed; but while he was scrupulous as to his logic, he was far less admirable in his choice of premises. Indeed he was obsessed by logic. Now logic, without an effective conscience back of it, or even without a generous knowledge of its limitations, is the father of lies. The logician who is careless about the basis of his reasoning maintains a laboratory of error. The shrewd lawyer builds up injustice by a false "theory of the case," as he calls it, and if he is astute enough he makes away with it. We approach the truth by trying out the postulates upon which the conclusions of our day are built, and discarding them when we find them false. Men of science have learned the danger of letting logic run away with them before they know their facts. Formerly it was the fashion among them to work out a theory for every phenomenon and then proceed as though each new theory were a fact. They learned this art from Paul. To-day they are more modest; criticism is invited, whether based on history or experiment.

I repeat, Paul was obsessed by logic. Everything had to be buttoned up, to be made presentable and finished. He had the passion of a Prussian *Feldwebel* for system and order, or of the conscientious housekeeper who throws notes and manuscripts into the fire rather than leave a room untidy. Paul had to work out a theory, a chain of reasoning for everything, and he imposed his findings upon his followers. If he could not get the points of history,—current, ancient and mythological,—which he desired to present as the ground of his argument into a workable relation, he would guess out a law for the situation, and then proceed to argue in favor of his law. And in argument he was irresistible; he could talk anybody down. From statements made in The Acts it appears that he talked constantly.

On his first appearance at the stoning of Stephen the apostles feared him greatly, and when he finally appeared

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before them it is doubtful if they would have accepted him as one of their number if Barnabas had not plead for him. And he must have been difficult to get along with. They retained him among them for a year before they let him go out to preach, which was his great desire, and even then they sent him off to the Gentiles rather than have him work among their own people. He had already worked out a series of theories to satisfy his craving for logic, and it would not be surprising if the apostles had hesitated to allow the gospel of love which they had been teaching to become entangled in a complicated code of dogma and rules of Paul's invention. It was Paul who developed the theory that the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, after creating the world in six days and putting Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and observing Adam's disobedience and putting all the children of the earth under the ban of his curse, had then repented of his act and made a sacrifice of Jesus so that the curse might be lifted. Then Paul invented justification by faith, and so justification by faith took the place of love and he had a workable argument, sound in logic, beginning with the Garden of Eden and ending in the escape of his followers from hell-fire. Stand up and say you believe, and you are saved; fail in this opportunity, and you shall go to hell. That was an easy doctrine with which to impress the crowd and bring them into the organization under fear. I do not think Jesus ever taught it. I do not believe he even thought of it as a way to establish what he called the Kingdom of God. On the other hand, how could Paul imagine the Kingdom of God as coming about through sympathy and good-fellowship? He was apparently without good-fellowship, and it is doubtful if he was a man of sympathy. He was too busy "fighting the good fight" to engage in sympathy. Paul's problem was not a problem of love, although this was important because Jesus had so constantly taught it; Paul's problem was one of organization. He wrote wonderful phrases about love, but in practice it had to give way to system and order. And his organization proceeded with great success. As soon as he obtained a good start at his work the other apostles drop out from the pages of the record. They could not get along with him; Barnabas was the first to befriend him and the first to leave him. Mark could not work with him, and Peter was entirely out of accord with him.

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The working of Paul's mind is shown in a number of instances. Thus he started with his theory of the church worked out as a Jewish institution, but the rite of circumcision was an hindrance to him in the organization of his establishments. So he returned early in his career to Peter for instruction. Now Peter, who is said to have been of conservative disposition, but who appears, through association with Jesus, to have gathered unto himself some of his loveliness of nature, assured him that the gospel of Jesus was not circumcision or any other rite, but that it was rather of the heart. As soon as Paul learned that circumcision was not essential he substituted baptism for it. He had to have a rule and a rite, so he adopted baptism, which was workable, and thus baptism became essential to salvation. Imagine Jesus saying: "Suffer little children to come unto me—after they have been baptized"!

The problem of sex bothered Paul, and he set forth his dogma that women are a temptation and a danger and therefore they should be kept in the house. He was a man of great influence, and his restrictions upon women have smothered their minds for many centuries.

When he set out on his missionary journeys it was his habit, on his arrival in a town, to seek first the synagogue, and by virtue of his credentials as a preacher, get opportunity to address the Jewish congregation. If they agreed with him and followed him, well and good; if not—the records do not show what happened, but it is evident that there was trouble. When he returned to Jerusalem, before his arrest, it appears that he had already organized his churches into an anti-Jewish institute. I cannot gather any other conclusion from the record. Now the Jews of his day were human, just as they are to-day. Jesus got along with them and loved them. So did Peter and James and John and all the other apostles. Paul could not. He had doctrines which the others did not teach, and it appears to me as though the doctrinaires and teachers of dogma had been blaming the Jews for Paul's faults. Paul is never blamed, and his quarrelsome disposition, his testy temper, and his boastfulness over what he had to endure from those that did not agree with him are referred to as his grand humanity. His habit of speech was not gentle, and it is evident that his expressions to the unpersuaded Jews were neither friendly nor free from insult. Of course the good people would resent

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this. Many of us are slow to grasp any new idea; and Paul preached to them, instead of the simple gospel of love which Jesus taught, a new Jewish code, made up largely of rules and deductions of his own invention. The Jewish congregation felt that they had more authority for the laws inscribed on their scrolls than for the doctrines of Paul, and they did what any Christian church would do to-day if anyone were to come to them as Paul went to the synagogues. They plainly told him to clear out. Then Paul, being known as a Christian, could not stone them to death as had been done to Stephen because he did not agree. So he did something far worse than throwing stones at them: he complained that the Jews were persecuting him, and by the persuasiveness of his talk and the volume of it, inflamed the people against the Jews. It was the beginning of the persecution of the Jews, and has continued to this day, remaining one of the most unkind and unchristian features of Christian society. There is bitter cruelty in it. And the higher we go where the graces of life abide in Christian society, the more subtle is this attitude of ungraciousness likely to be toward the Jews. Granted that Christianity might have prevailed without Paul, then we should all have been Jews and the Jews would have been different. They would not have been thrown into ghettos in mediæval days, nor put under a social ban now by inhibitions and prohibitions at the gates of the most delectable social achievements. This attitude of mind comes with the increase of authority of the Church. Jesus leaned the other way. Paul started it.

Another interesting light on the influence of Paul is found in the Reformation. Granted all the evils claimed for the Catholics by the Protestants and the integrity of all of Luther's purposes—and what happened? Luther sought the Scriptures for his inspiration, but it is clear that he dwelt rather upon The Acts and The Epistles than on the gospel of Jesus—and so the fight began. Of Luther's followers, Calvin is a perfect example of one who sought the Scriptures for law, according to Paul, and with no consideration for the Golden Rule. The result was his great and almost successful effort to establish a Presbyterian political machine in Geneva; and while this sets us a shining example of industry, perseverance, singleness of purpose, and that kind of grim resolution that sometimes passes for piety, it does not appeal to the heart. If we were to order our

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lives according to Calvin's example we should abide without love or good-fellowship and be lucky if we died of old age at twenty. With all his faults, Paul was better than Calvin. He had a heart. When he saw how Stephen died as a real hero, game to the very last breath, he was impressed. Calvin would have seen red and called for another apostle.

It may be that the apostles, excepting Paul, held it to be better to confine their efforts at first to Jewish people, and from that to grow more slowly but with less accretion of false doctrine. The Christian gospel being one of love, they may have striven to have it grow without hate. Paul's cutting loose from Jewish affiliations and making his churches anti-Jewish was surely not in accord with the teachings of the Master. It may be that these same apostles, whom we find set in the background behind the energetic missioner of his compound of the gospel of Jesus with his own vagrant theories and Hebrew myths, are entitled to more respect and reverence than Paul. Isn't it time to stop robbing Peter to pay Paul? It may be that the gospel of Jesus went over the heads of his disciples and that they spent the end of their days looking for the second coming of Christ; but so did Paul. He was more certain than anybody else that the world was coming to an end straightway. He was the only one that could set the date. And why not give Jesus credit for understanding the men he chose as his companions? He did not choose Paul, but he did choose those simpler men. Did he know that Paul was coming after him to be the nominal communicator of his message to the world? If he did, and thought well of what this human avalanche would say, it seems as though he would have urged his disciples to welcome him and bear with him. But instead of this he cautioned them earnestly against those who should follow in his name, teaching false doctrine. He was very earnest about this. In the end, Paul, by his great strength, astuteness, and force prevailed over the other apostles. And yet, because he prevailed is no guaranty that he was right. If John's allusions to false prophets in the Apocalypse refer to Paul, as they seem to, John's opinion in this matter should be of weight.

In the gospel of love and good-fellowship as the means of bringing about the Kingdom of God, it seems possible that we might agree. Of course, some of us are so crabbed and selfish that our idea of love and good-fellowship is to

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have others give us whatever is theirs while we give nothing in return. This is a frequent attitude of the man who boasts of wanting nothing but what is right. But even old skinflints may become animated by a new spirit if all the rest are full of loving kindness. Jesus knew all this, and how earnestly and how tenderly he sought to tell it! It is so simple, so scientific; and as available to-day as it was two thousand years ago. It is sound psychology—indeed, we can find no fault with it whatever. It requires no abuse of the mind to believe in it. On the other hand, of all the doctrines that Paul and his followers have added on: the virgin birth, the prophecies fulfilled and unfulfilled, justification by faith, vicarious atonement, and the many other articles of faith that in our unbelieving hearts we know are not so: these things seem idle dreams, speculations of a day that is past, speedily vanishing into thin air. Without them, we could all go to church and sing Christmas hymns. With them, the number of Christians must of necessity be limited, grouped by denomination, and according to such dogma as they can bring their minds to endure.

Ellwood Hendrick.

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THE CITY

BY BLANCHE M. THOMAS

THE echo of iron! the drilling of steel!
And from far underneath a din and a clatter,
Man's striving and strain over gain and its matter.
For down in the street things that mingle and meet
Are dust lifted papers with rushing of feet;
And the ominous sound of a thousand of voices,
Aloft, you can't tell if it sobs or rejoices.
For down in the street things that mingle and meet
Are confusion of choices defying defeat,
With a courage that labours unflinchingly keen
For the gripping of power and what it shall mean,
For the gripping of power and the clutching of law.
Each man is a leader, and hopes to be more
In those buildings that cut the sky into pieces,
Strange columns of thought that each moontide increases,
Whose power plays havoc with even the wind
Lighting the bay where it meets with the ocean,
Showing the splendour that man has combined
With the forces themselves through his work and devotion;
Showing the splendour which man has achieved
In his fruits of rebellion from what was believed—
Those fruits of rebellion that shadow the sun
With a glory untrammelled and copied by none.

The echo of iron! the ringing of steel!
Those bridges that arch for the passing of giants,
Joining country and city with iron alliance,
Engaging the world to admire defiance:
How the God of invention has spilled of his wares
On these peaks of a city that builds as she cares,
The mistress withal of gigantic ambition
Still in her travail of mammoth fruition—
Fruition that rouses to strive and to spend
All worth, in the joy of attaining an end.

The echo of iron! the blasting of rock!
It breeds up a rhythm of vast syncopations,
A sound of the merging of hundreds of nations.
It's the noise of a forge, the forge of the world—
Where the scheme of the future is being unfurled,
By the voice of a Power that's still unrevealed;
Yea! the voice of a Power that shatters the sun—
With a glory untrammelled, and measured by none.

BLANCHE M. THOMAS.

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GREAT WOMEN'S DAUGHTERS

BY FLORENCE LEFTWICH RAVENEL

In France, and in France only, is there a tradition of famous women. Here and there from time to time, in other lands, a feminine genius has appeared, fulfilled her appointed task and died, leaving a more or less solid achievement in science, literature or art. But set in no framework of history, with no background of custom and precedent, she has lacked the charm of perspective as well as the substantial dignity and prestige—the birthright of that slender chain of distinguished Frenchwomen of letters, beginning with Marguerite of Navarre in the sixteenth century and extending to Arvede Barine in the twentieth—which is one of the unique glories of France. And looking down the line of those whose fame has endured, substantially undimmed, I find three and three only who have possessed among all their other gifts of nature and fortune, each a daughter—a girl, whose identity of sex added to her inherited resemblance to her mother make of her, irrespective of her individual characteristics, a personage of no ordinary interest and significance. The sons of these women (and on the whole their sons outnumber their daughters) grew up average men—neither better nor worse than their fellows; but the girls were different. Each of them drew from her mother a well-marked and decided personality, while from her father and from other remoter ancestors, she inherited contrasting, even antipathetic, qualities and instincts. Each of them grew up by her mother's side, and though they differed from one another in almost every conceivable way, these three daughters had one feature in common: Françoise Marguerite de Sévigné, Comtesse de Grignan, Albertine de Staël, Duchesse de Broglie, neither more nor less than Solange Dudevant Sand, Mme. Clesinger. For each of them, love and loyalty to her famous mother was the strongest

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feeling of her heart; admiration and reverence for her mother's genius the one article of faith which admitted neither question nor dispute.

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I have always been sorry for Françoise de Sévigné, though I must admit that my sympathy is grudgingly given. So ungracious and ungraceful is the nature which the mother's letters unconsciously reveal in the daughter, that all the legends of the girl's beauty bring no conviction to the mind, and in fancy we see her as stiff, conventional and unbending in form and feature as she undoubtedly was in disposition and character. Mme. de Sévigné carries her audience with her on every theme but this—the very one, alas! which she had most at heart—the charms and perfections of Françoise. Her young and dissolute father bequeathed to her a fragile and often suffering body, an extravagant taste and—perhaps—a defective sense of humor; from her mother she took her keen critical intelligence and a certain rugged, indomitable honesty and scorn of shams; while all Mme. de Sévigné's lighter, more delicate and elusive virtues, which were graces as well, went shamelessly in a body to the young Charles, the delightful, if often unedifying, scapegrace son, who divided so unevenly with Françoise the mental and spiritual heritage of the family.

It was not an easy lot, that of the girl. She was herself, and at the same time she was Mme. de Sévigné's daughter. She must move about that little brilliant sarcastic world, by the side of her popular and fascinating mother, knowing (and from a very early period she surely did know or suspect) that she supplied the most effective foil for her mother's vivacious, expansive personality. No doubt Mme. de Sévigné herself was somewhat to blame for her daughter's hard precocity. From her earliest years Françoise was a petted, over-indulged child—spoiled by her mother's friends as well as by her mother—to whose good graces a compliment or a favor to her idol was always an open sesame; and if at first both women were persuaded that the affectionate enthusiasm of Mme. de Sévigné's friends was equally warm and sincere in its appreciation of Françoise, the disillusionment that awaited them (never acknowledged by the mother) must have come with a cruel shock to the girl's moody, secretive, suspicious spirit. For neither de Bussy nor Mme.

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de Lafayette, nor (with one or two exceptions) any of Mme. de Sévigné's intimates, seems really to have liked or approved of Françoise.

Child study had not been invented in the seventeenth century, and such minute and respectful attention to children's ways and words would have shocked an age when every effort was bent to ignore and disavow the period between birth and maturity. But again Françoise was different, and from a very early stage we see her later qualities and tendencies already clearly sketched in the portrait of the very little girl. From the first delightful picture, drawn by a contemporary, of the two lovely children seated in the family coach, one on each side of their charming young mother, when for the first time after the death of the Marquis they made the journey up from Brittany to Paris, each successive view that we catch of Françoise shows her always the same—a keen, sharp-edged, determined little person, proud, self-conscious, sensitive, whose habitual self-restraint was broken sometimes by one of those whirlwinds of anger—amusing enough as related by her mother's gilt-edged pen, but of evil omen, surely, for the future woman's happiness and credit.

On the other hand, nothing that art or effort could accomplish to complete and perfect her natural development, was spared by a mother who was not only an excellent judge of education, but herself a product of the very best kind. Literature Françoise did not really love; Mme. de Sévigné reproaches her gently, but with manifest sincerity, for her indifference to that general reading which furnished so priceless a solace to her mother and brother in their long dreary winters in Brittany. But in the popular philosophy of the time—in Descartes and Jansenius, and the hazy hair-splitting discussions of their schools, Françoise professed a deep and vital interest—admired but not emulated by her mother. She soon forgot her very small Latin, but of Italian she had a fair knowledge—probably of Spanish also; and her dancing was as nearly professional as that of a young patrician could decently be. From her fourteenth year, moreover, she had abundant occasion to exploit this as well as her other accomplishments, for she took a prominent part in the fêtes, masques and ballets of the young king's sumptuous court. These were her golden days; court poets celebrated her charms, court chronicles described her dancing

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and—a final climax of her celebrity—it was whispered (not in her mother's hearing, we may be sure) that Louis himself was casting covetous glances at her fresh and girlish beauty. A golden moment, but a moment only! The facile admiration excited by her fair face did not deepen into affection or esteem. She had few suitors, and those that appeared she did not encourage. Perhaps ambition, perhaps only temperamental coldness, held her aloof.

Mme. de Sévigné's maternal enthusiasm meanwhile did not falter, though with the flight of the years, she came to look upon this handsome, reserved and difficult daughter as a sort of riddle of the Sphinx—to be read only by the man of destiny for whom they both waited. Five years after the deceptively brilliant *début* the mother could still write to the sugary but perfidious Bussy, in response to his two-edged inquiries: "The prettiest girl in France sends you her greetings; that is a fairly good name for her, to my mind, and yet I am weary of doing the honors for that same girl all these many years." And a little later, "The prettiest girl in France is more worthy than ever of your esteem and affection. Her destiny is so hard to foretell that I for one give it up."

It was not a romantic destiny, when at last it declared itself. To be the third wife of a middle-aged man, with embarrassed fortune and a family of grown-up children—this was surely but a tame solution of a problem so long canvassed, so eagerly discussed. But the marriage which brought such cruel loneliness and deprivation to the mother was not without its fortunate aspects after all. The young Comtesse de Grignan never professed to be in love with her husband—indeed, Françoise was no likely subject for that passion which implies, we are told, a sort of spiritual dissolution, a kind of inward disintegration and rebirth; and to such experiences this logical, self-contained, calculating nature was and remained a stranger. But in her intercourse with her husband, nevertheless, Françoise was undoubtedly at her best. The Count was a man of the highest breeding, not of conspicuous talent or even very sound judgment, but a gentleman even in his faults. Throughout their long married life together they maintained a relation of staunch comradeship and sympathetic co-operation, as also of mutual tact and forbearance, which makes of their union a very pleasant oasis in a generation of Montespans,

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Lafayettes, Rochefaucaulds and Scarrons. As a mother, again, Mme. de Grignan comes into violent contrast with her own. Were not our minds full of Mme. de Sévigné's maternal devotion the attitude of the younger woman toward her daughters would seem less repulsively cold and judicial. Mme. de Sévigné's efforts to arouse and encourage in Françoise some tenderness and enthusiasm for her children, and especially for the little girl, give us a curious insight into these two so different hearts.

But it is in her relations to her mother that Mme. de Grignan especially challenges our curiosity and interest, and it is here, too, that, joining the ranks of the heretics, I am best able to understand her case and find most to plead in extenuation of her pitiful inadequacy and failure. For, Sunday School moralists to the contrary notwithstanding, a cold heart is rarely melted by contact with a warm one—nay, rather, a mere indifference and lack of active response is often changed to a positive resistance, an impulse to escape, to elude the pressure and the exacting, absorbing inroads of a love that gives and demands all. The object of a great but unreturned passion bears a heavy burden and wears inevitably a most unlovely mien. How often must poor Françoise have winced and shuddered in secret as she contemplated her own image in the minds of her mother's friends! Yet, after all, is it not a proof of this woman's integrity, of the essential soundness of her ill-starred nature, that the years which so commonly confirm and intensify the warps and twists of the natural bent, did really and greatly temper and soften the asperity of her character? The simple unpretending nobleness of her mother's life must have appealed with an ever-growing force to one accessible always, through her judgment rather than through her emotions, while the humiliating collapse of her own and her husband's ambitious schemes must surely bring into stronger relief the one perfectly unselfish love and service she had ever known. Yet when at last Mme. de Sévigné died Françoise had only stiff and stilted phrases wherewith to communicate her loss to her mother's old friends. She had not the gift of tears any more than the gift of laughter. Once more we see her as at the beginning, the victim of a contrast as inevitable as it is essentially unjust. She was too intelligent, too much a woman of her time, not to appreciate her mother's delightful literary and social gifts; yet in her

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inmost heart she may perhaps have harbored always an obscure sense of injury and wrong. Since for all time she must be judged—not by the standard of the average good and clever woman which she was, but by another far higher, more delicate and exacting criterion: the criterion of her mother's unique and incomparable genius and personality.

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After Françoise de Sévigné, Albertine de Staël! Suddenly we pass from the harsh light, the sharp outlines, the crude and glaring colors of a midsummer day, into a region of perpetual twilight. The forms are blurred and faint, a silence falls over the noonday noise, a coolness breathes through the languid air. She was a lovely girl if we may judge by her portraits, with a beauty as delicate, refined and noble as her spirit. No desire of conquest or admiration seems ever to have troubled her devout, even austere, ideal of duty, or competed with her thirst for peace, for seclusion, for time and a free heart, to give to her dear ones, to her religion and to that serious and weighty reading and meditation—her taste for which was a direct legacy from her Grandmother Necker. If ever a frail and gentle being was born for the hidden and sheltered life, it was this!

But this release from the world, for which, even in early youth, she was longing, was never to be hers; and such happiness and fruition as came to her she must always snatch, as it were, in the midst of alarms. It would seem almost as if the sort of inner dread, the shrinking from life, which she could never overcome or wholly conceal, had been stamped upon her soul at birth—a penalty of the conditions under which she was born and of the well-founded terrors and anxieties of her childish experience. For years she had wandered with her mother, a fugitive through Europe, pursued by Napoleon's tyrannical spite, accompanied now by a more or less equivocal escort, again by servants, while sometimes it was those two alone against the world. And the very real perils to which she was exposed had for Albertine none of the alleviations of the sense of martyrdom or of the inward flame, the constant intellectual excitement, which tempered the miseries of exile for Mme. de Staël.

The young girl adored her mother with all the unquestioning loyalty of a neophyte and all the yearning tenderness

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of a daughter, and yet, to one who reads between the lines of the younger woman's letters and the scanty records which we have of her life, there is more than a suggestion that, as she grew older, her mother's substantial and ever brightening fame acquired for her, nevertheless, something equivocal—to be dreaded as well as loved. For in spite of Mme. de Staël's steady and honorable endeavors to protect this childish mind from a premature knowledge of evil, inevitably the girl's conscience and heart were more and more clouded and oppressed by the perception of her mother's anomalous position—of that constant publicity and controversy which, with or without her own connivance, followed the daughter of Necker, the enemy of Napoleon, the author of *Corinne,* wherever she went.

We may surmise that in spite of her loyalty, her passionate partisanship, her mother's agitated tempestuous career had left deep in the young girl's soul a secret wound—never acknowledged, never healed; and, who knows? perhaps Albertine would have sacrificed all Mme. de Staël's great renown, her world-wide influence and relations, could she, by the same act, have washed from her mother's life and name every moral stain and made of her a blameless wife and mother like herself. The strain of Puritanic austerity, so marked in Mme. Necker, had revived in the third generation, in a gentler, sweeter, less aggressive form, without the dross of vanity and egotism. And now, united to a very humble estimate of her own worth and ability, Albertine had that timorous recoil from evil—that shrinking from the world, chiefly because of its power to soil and corrupt—which has in all ages driven certain pure spirits to the cloister, or, at all events, made them incapable of grappling with the ugly facts of life.

Mme. de Staël had often declared, in her intense and emphatic way, that "she should force her daughter to make a marriage of inclination." Fortunately the mother's choice for Albertine was so pre-eminently worthy that there could be no need of persuasion—of coercion. The union of the young Duke and Duchess de Broglie was complete and satisfying inwardly as it was brilliant outwardly, and advantageous from every point of view. But her marriage did not bring to the duchess her release from the world; rather it assured to her for her whole life the busy, restless, outwardly futile and frivolous existence of a "society woman"

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and the mistress of a great official salon. Her published letters, many of which date from this period of social and political activity and prominence, reveal a nature of the highest and rarest moral distinction, united to a physical and nervous organization extremely fragile, and shattered probably from her earliest youth, and an intelligence which rises above the mediocre only when her eyes are turned inward upon the scene of her spiritual and emotional life. Her observations upon politics, upon literature, upon the state of the Nation, the frivolities and follies of her social world, are sound and reasonable enough, but without special savor in substance or even grace and vivacity in expression. But when the young mother suddenly is called to look upon the ruins of her House of Life her voice rises to a strain of such simple, poignant eloquence as perhaps the great Corinne could scarcely have achieved. When her oldest and best beloved daughter Pauline is snatched from her side at fourteen Mme. de Broglie finds words to interpret, not only her individual loss, but—a very different thing—the sorrows of all spirits as finely tempered as her own.

To this woman the light of day revealed, as it were, only the obvious; she had little natural affinity for joy or sunshine. But when the night began to fall, black and full of dread, there rose upon this shy and shrinking spirit a gleam of immortal light. In this dim region she moves as one at ease; all her doubts and tremors stilled, she speaks as one having authority; and with a firm hand, a sure touch, she unlocks the inmost secret of the soul. In a letter to a friend of her girlhood Mme. de Broglie writes, toward the end of her life: "When I remember all the experiences through which I have tested God's goodness, how He has upheld me in the bitterest trials, by what ways He has led me to a perfect peace, I know not how to express my gratitude to Him."

And upon this note we would gladly let the plaintive voice die away into silence; though the impression left by her letters, and the few reminiscences and anecdotes that remain, is, on the whole, less that of peace than of resigned but inveterate melancholy—so fundamental that religion, friendship, domestic affection and prosperity were alike powerless to dispel it. It would seem that of all her famous mother's conspicuous characteristics one alone had descended in full measure upon this, the best loved and most distinguished of her children; and now, unrelieved by her

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fervid enthusiasms, her passionate faith in herself and in her inspired mission to mankind, as well as by others of her less exalted and noble qualities, Mme. de Staël's "incurable ennui" held tyrannical sway over a gentler, more sensitive, less brilliant and aggressive spirit, to its own fatal loss and hurt.

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Neither Françoise de Sévigné nor Albertine de Staël could be counted a very happy woman, and yet to each of them there fell a goodly portion of dignity, honor and success. No question can arise here of shipwreck, moral or material, of ruin and bankruptcy in all that makes life precious—to those at least who do not live by bread alone. We must seek new standards—must choose a new vocabulary, even—before we open the record of Solange Dudevant—Mme. Clesinger, the only daughter of George Sand. Yet it is not in the gifts of nature that we must look for this disparity. Among these three women, it is in Solange only that a spark of the divine fire smoulders—at least in youth.

When in 1828 Solange Dudevant was born, five years after her brother Maurice, the first great disillusionment had already come to George Sand. The sordid miseries of her married life had brought a rude awakening from the sort of temperamental lethargy of her earlier years, while the great emotional upheaval of the time to come was as yet undreamed of even by herself. Yet we need adopt no questionable theory of pre-natal influence to perceive that the birth and early childhood of Solange fell upon most unlucky days. George Sand's feminism was always strongly individual and took no account of systems; she professed no revolt against the limitations of sex nor the age-long immolation of mothers. But instinctively she was grasping at the whole of life; in her capacious clasp she sought to enfold all joy, all emotion, all experiences known to humanity; and however such magnificent aspirations may fall in with advanced modern theories, they have in practice been judged hitherto inconsistent with motherhood.

Solange was five years old during her mother's memorable first winter in Italy and her overwhelming adventure with de Musset. For the time all saner impulses and feelings were overpowered, all normal interests and duties blotted out; and though, after a season, reason returned and with it, as always, a keen solicitude for her children's well

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being, yet the mother, with characteristic optimism, seems to have looked to her own direct precepts—always, let us say to her honor, admirably wholesome, sound, sincere and practical—to neutralize such failure in her example as might have filtered through to the young girl's ears and understanding. But alas! here she was reckoning without Solange. For Solange incarnated from her earliest years those qualities, good and bad, most alien, antipathetic, unintelligible, even, to her mother's nature and taste. Far from condemning the temperamental exuberance of George Sand's youth, Solange would appear to have admired it, to have envied its romantic excesses—that tremendous fullness of life and faith and hope which enabled the young author of *Lélia* to move straight and swiftly to her goal in the face of all laws and conventions. Such a youth, such conquests, such loves, would have been to Solange an ideal career, and it is only the sober, laborious, *bourgeois* side of the picture and of her mother's nature—never really effaced even in her most tempestuous escapades—that would have seemed prosaic, dull, intolerable to her daughter's luxurious, even somewhat snobbish taste. To float idly in a gondola on the Grand Canal, a lover at her feet, the songs of boatmen and the plash of moonlit waves in her ears—Solange could have done that, too, with incomparable grace; but the long hours of arduous labor that followed—reaching far into the night—the urgent appeals to publishers in Paris, the unsleeping dread of failing resources, sickness and debt; these were quite inconsistent with Solange's idea of romance. Moreover, however cordial her admiration for her mother might be, it must be conceded that the grounds of it were not such as give weight and sanction to parental counsels, exhortations or reproofs; and, as I have said elsewhere, Fate in its most revengeful mood could scarcely have devised a subtler yet more efficacious punishment for George Sand's many faults than the sort of travesty of her own career, the parody on her own brave fight for freedom, her revolt against social tyranny, offered by the tragi-comedy of her daughter's life.

The story of Solange, her long, stormy, frivolous, most unedifying career, is unhappy and disappointing almost from the beginning. Her wayward childhood—periods of maternal neglect followed by intervals of anxious, careful, too strenuous training at home or at school; her capricious

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girlhood, here perversity and charm seem for a moment to hold the balance even; her early, inexplicable marriage to one whose unworthiness she seems perfectly to have known and whom she married perhaps quite as much with the object of displeasing and humiliating her mother as for her own satisfaction; her wretched married life with its continual quarrels and still more frequent financial crises, its short intervals of factitious prosperity and notoriety, followed by long desert stretches of poverty, sordid expedients and an ever accelerating moral *dégringolade:* are they not all written in the many chronicles of George Sand's life and times?

And of all natures hers was, as I have said, the least fitted to appeal to George Sand, to whom the word *caprice* was unintelligible, and who could write of this same Solange, "This creature whom I have brought into the world,—I have nursed her, whipped her, adored her, spoiled and scolded, punished and forgiven, and yet—in spite of it all she has remained to me a stranger!"

Emotionally, always, a shadow and barren soil, passionate without tenderness, never quite oblivious of the gallery even in her deepest experiences, Solange yet possessed an intellectual gift that is likely to keep a place for her so long as George Sand is remembered among men. She was dazzlingly, delightfully witty. Her letters have a felicity of touch, an airy grace and lightness that disarm our displeasure, even as, in her lifetime, they so often turned the edge of her mother's rebukes and drew from her a half reluctant smile. For the sallies of Solange are often as keen and cruel as they are brilliant, and serve to convey her bitterness of spirit, her ironical scorn of herself and of others—in itself half a pose. She had occasionally a spurt of industry, a gust of ambition which carried her fluently through all the preliminary plans and programs of her literary undertakings even to the verge of their bibliographies, but evaporated infallibly under the strain of the first week's work. A dilettante in all things, she never took herself seriously in any relation; and over words and gestures, feelings and opinions there hangs always a suspicion of unreality which dries our tears, checks our sympathy, and in time enables us to understand and in part to share George Sand's—at first—rather disconcerting attitude toward this her only daughter. Her mother had for Solange

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beside a purely natural and instinctive affection a great and troubled solicitude, passing in turn, under our very eyes, to a sentiment compounded of pity, terror and contempt. How far the great and famous author felt herself responsible for this shipwrecked existence, this warped and perverted career, we cannot tell—whether conscience ever smote her, in her long and honorable maturity and later years, with the insinuation that among all the errors, the pleasant vices of her passionate youth, Solange herself was the worst, the most indestructible, the most fatal by far: this we shall never know. So far as we can tell, that proud head was never bowed to God or man in the humility of sincere repentance.

Poor Solange! no doubt she hated sermons, and cared little to serve her generation either as warning or example. But posterity has pressed her into service, nevertheless. The moral that George Sand would not heed we are here to enforce. The legend from which she averted her eyes is writ large across the page of history.

* * * * * *

Nature is not unjust or cruel, but she is no spendthrift either, and her reckonings hold over from one generation to another. Those three daughters of genius were not happy women; half unconsciously they dwelt each in the shadow of her famous mother—of the high, imposing personality that went before, and shut out from her too much of the light of common day. And that is, after all, the only light by which the uninspired children of men can walk securely, uprightly and in peace.

If Françoise, Albertine and Solange could speak to us without constraint there might well come from the depths of each heart, free from all conventions, proprieties and obligations, the words of the old adage—with a difference: "Happy the daughters whose mothers have no history!"

Florence Leftwich Ravenel.

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DRAMA AND MUSIC

SIGNIFICANT HAPPENINGS OF THE MONTH

The Greatest Music in the World, and a New Interpretation of It.—Some Adventures with the Futurists: Schönberg, Stravinsky, and Ornstein.—Mr. Shaw's "Major Barbara."

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN

THERE should have been what Whitman calls "adornments and feastings" at the Metropolitan Opera House last month when *Tristan und Isolde* was given for the first time this season: for the date of the performance was within a few months of *Tristan's* semi-centennial—it was a half-century ago that the greatest music in the world was first heard in public. The precise date was June 10, 1865. As New Yorkers are not interested in music (without dancing) in the summer-time, we could scarcely have hoped for an anniversary performance of *Tristan* in June; but it seems a pity that the earliest succeeding date when a performance would have been feasible—which happened to be the first day of December—should not have been noted and celebrated as a gala event. The auditorium might have been adorned with smilax; a representative of the management might have delivered a few commemorative remarks from the stage; the ushers might at least have worn *boutonnières*. But in America we take no note of such merely æsthetic anniversaries. As Mark Twain said concerning our garrulously complaining attitude toward the weather, "nothing is ever done." So nothing was done at the Metropolitan's *Tristan* performance. The auditorium and the ushers wore their usual aspects; the management was inarticulate; and the audience behaved as if the event had been no event at all, or only an ordinary repetition of *Madame Butterfly* or *La Gioconda*.

Yet the première of *Tristan* fifty years ago was an affair of momentous consequence to the art of music. Indeed, it would be hard to exaggerate its importance. If there had

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been no *Tristan*, what we now know as modern music would not exist. Doubtless we should have had to-day some kind of music; but it would have been a very different thing from that which we actually possess. For modern music without *Tristan* is inconceivable. Look wherever you please in the music of the last three decades: French music or German, Russian or Italian, English or American: and you will find, somewhere,—in a modulation or a melodic turn, a chord or a sequence,—some reminder of *Tristan*. In this score Wagner gave music a new language, incomparably rich, various, and expressive. Through technical devices of unexampled audacity, he liberated music from the constraining moulds of traditional form that had, from the beginning, prevented its attainment of perfect freedom and flexibility of movement. In particular, he demolished the partitions between the different keys. What the admirable Johann Sebastian Bach had once done as a *tour de force,* what Beethoven and Weber and Chopin and Liszt had attempted timorously or experimentally, Wagner did as a settled and regular matter of procedure. His music is as untrammeled, as superbly careless of boundaries and barriers, as a mountain torrent.

The achievement seems to-day very much a matter of course; a thing long familiar, to which we are thoroughly and affectionately habituated. But fifty years ago its effect was convulsing: for some, it was as the revelation of a new heaven and a new earth; for the many, it was sheer chaos. Heinrich Dorn, the eminent pedagogue, declared that in this score, harmony was "used in a way that scoffs at its very name"; of melody there was "practically none." The great Hanslick found it "bombastic," "an assassination of sense." Others saw in it only "higher cat-music," "a monstrosity," "a tone-chaos of heart-rending chords." All of which, and much more of a like order, you may find embalmed, for the edification of posterity, in Mr. Henry T. Finck's delightful and invaluable *vade mecum* for the devoted Wagnerite, *Wagner and His Works*. To-day, as we have indicated, *Tristan* is milk for babes. The young ladies' finishing-schools are taken to it in droves. Its once revolutionary dissonances are merely the starting-point for the youthful composer. That famous modulation in the love-duo which evoked an indignant protest from Louis Ehlert, distinguished critic and composer, seems to us as natural and inoffensive as the harmony in *Three Blind Mice*.

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Out of this score has been woven the texture of our normal musical thought—it is to-day implicit and fundamental in our musical thinking and our musical speech; so that it is possible to say, with but slight exaggeration, that if you dig deep enough into any modern score (even Brahms is not exempt!), you will come upon the priceless gold, sometimes a little tarnished, of this inexhaustible treasury of inspiration.

We have spoken lightly of the simplicity and familiarity and approachableness that *Tristan* wears for the musical world of to-day—and, in fact, so much a part of the intellectual fiber of modernity has it become that one can scarcely imagine the prodigious effect of its initial disclosure a half-century ago. Yet even to-day how overwhelming is the impression made by this music!—not by its strangeness, its revolutionary quality, but by its ineffable beauty, its terrible eloquence, its crowding miracles of inspiration, the amazing, the incomparable genius that flames through it from the first note to the last. For twenty years we have been listening to it; through sixty performances we have watched its loveliness unfold and have been silent in the presence of its heights and depths. Here indeed are "thoughts that wander through eternity." Here is an altar and an altar fire before which the proudest must bow in reverence; a temple of the spirit wherein we would fain believe that the divinity that broods within is repeating the sublime affirmation of the Gita: "I am Beauty itself amid beautiful things."

In the case of such a masterwork as this, a fresh interpretation is an artistic event. *Tristan* has this season a new interpreter in the person of Mr. Arthur Bodanzky, the young Austrian conductor who has come to the Metropolitan to do the work of Mr. Hertz, now engaged in the musical evangelization of California, and, in part, of Mr. Toscanini, at present patriotically occupied in Italy. Many conductors have wreaked themselves upon *Tristan* at the Metropolitan since its consummate interpreter, Anton Seidl, died in 1898. We have had *Tristan* according to Messrs. Schalk, Damrosch, Hertz, Mottl, Mahler, and Toscanini. Of these, Mr. Toscanini, always an exquisite artist and an interpreter of extraordinary gifts, came nearest to satisfying the tests that are applied to conductors of *Tristan* by those who know and love it best. He made it a thing of ravishing beauty and poetry; but he did not make it the

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heart-shaking thing of blood and tears, of blended flesh and spirit, of infinite rapture and infinite anguish, that Seidl made it. Mr. Bodanzky is, we believe, a disciple of Gustav Mahler, and his way is Mahler's way. That way is to reduce the prominence of the orchestra and to enhance the prominence of the voices; an admirable way, for besides being pleasant for the singers, it permits the text to be clearly heard, and it enables some of Wagner's loveliest writing to make its full effect. The trouble with this method is—as more than one commentator has pointed out since people began to pay more heed to what Wagner wrote in his scores than to what he wrote in his exegetical excursions—that a good deal of *Tristan* (as of the later music-dramas in general) is in effect a symphonic poem for the opera-house, to which the voice-parts were seemingly joined with whatever felicity the orchestral proceedings allowed. This tonal cabinet-work has been, in the main, very wonderfully and perfectly done by Wagner; but sometimes, as in Isolde's *Liebestod,* for example, it is so far from successful that this part of the score loses nothing whatever (save in the last three measures for the voice, with the final and indescribable F-sharp) by performance in the concert-room. There are a good many other portions of the score which are in a similar case. To magnify the importance of the voices in these passages, and to subdue the torrent of orchestral tone upon which they are borne, is often, therefore, to sacrifice the greater for the less. It is, of course, possible to love the song of the orchestra too much and the song of the singers too little. It is clear that in certain pages Wagner intended to lay chief emphasis upon the voice-parts—as in the passage just before the close of the second act, where Tristan asks Isolde if she will follow him into death. Here the intended effect is clearly that of sustained lyric speech for the voices and mere accompaniment for the orchestra. But such passages are comparatively infrequent; and it is because Mr. Bodanzky fails to appreciate this fact that we find his reading less than satisfying. We have nothing but praise for his poetic sensibility, his skill and taste in nuance, his dramatic fervor, his usually right instinct in the disposition of rhetorical emphasis and in the choice of tempos (though we are still wondering why he took the exultant piping of the shepherd which announces the appearance of Isolde's ship

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at so lethargic a pace). We have seldom heard the noble music of King Marke's reproach so touchingly delivered by the orchestra; and where there are no voices to think about—as in the mighty passage which prepares the entrance of Tristan into Isolde's tent—this conductor can be superb. He is ineffectual in the *Liebestod;* and he makes little of that passage which, at times, we feel to mark very nearly the summit of Wagner's achievements as a worker of marvels in tone: the ecstatic intermezzo which accompanies the speechless embrace of the lovers on their couch of flowers, through which the warning tones of Brangäne are heard from the castle tower. Here the distant voice of the watcher should be borne dimly to us across the symphonic flood—it should sound to us, as to the entranced lovers, like a voice heard vaguely through a rapturous dream. Mr. Bodanzky and Mme. Matzenauer (the Brangäne of the performance) made it sound like a conventional operatic solo with conventionally subordinate accompaniment. All the poetry of the scene was dissipated; and so were its musical values.

On the whole, Mr. Bodanzky's *Tristan* is a version in miniature. It is planned on a small scale. Within its limits, it is vivid, beautiful, intense; but it lacks height and breadth and depth.

We have referred to Dr. Hanslick's opinion of *Tristan.* It is diverting to imagine what he would have said about the particular musical problem of our own day: the outgivings of the "futurists" (an unsatisfactory designation, borrowed as it is from a sister art, but sufficiently definite and comprehensible as an indication). If the good Doctor lost his temper over the hideousness of *Tristan,* what sort of reaction would the music of Schönberg and Stravinsky and Ornstein have called forth? It is an amusing but idle speculation. Nowadays reviewers do not lose their tempers when they hear forbidding and nonconformist music—or, if they do, they generally try to conceal the fact. Like Mr. A. B. Frost's militant mule Violet, we have learned our lesson, and have become wary. It is no longer good critical form to call a composer "crazy" merely because you find his music puzzling and repellent. To-day our methods, both defensive and offensive, are more circumspect. We permit ourselves to dismiss the disturbing phenomenon as mere

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" noise "; or we adopt the even simpler expedient of denying that it is music at all; whilst those of a suspicious nature are satisfied to question the composer's sincerity.

But what, after all, is the critic to do when he is confronted with music in which he can find neither beauty nor order?—such music, say, as Mr. Leo Ornstein's new sonata for violin and piano, wherein many of the harmonic combinations are achieved by the naïve procedure of sounding together as many of the notes of the chromatic scale as the pianist can strike? The trunks of certain of Mr. Ornstein's chords in this work bear branches sprouting to left and right, all heavily laden with notes like the fruit on an apple-tree. To aid the perplexed executant in playing these chords on the keyboard, the composer presents explanatory diagrams and footnotes, in which you are told how to hit certain keys with the thumb, others with the fingers, others with the palm. Now what, we say, is the most tolerant of critics, with the most hospitable of ears, to say in the presence of such music, if he finds in it neither eloquence nor design? Obviously, he should say, with The Raven, only that and nothing more. To say that Mr. Ornstein is crazy would be presumptuous; to say that he is insincere would be impertinent; to say that his music is mere " noise," or that it is not music at all, would be unscientific—for no one really knows the difference between " noise " and " music." The critics of fifty years ago who said that *Tristan* was " noise " rather than " music " were not ignoramuses: they were men of culture, of wide æsthetic experience. Let us not forget what Professor Saintsbury says in his *History of Criticism*. If we change the term he uses, " words," so that it reads " tones," we shall get this: " I do not know—and I do not believe any one knows, however he may juggle with terms—why certain tones arranged in certain order stir one like the face of the sea, or like the face of a girl, while certain other arrangements leave one absolutely indifferent or excite boredom or dislike." That is undeniably disheartening, but it is as undeniably true. Such being the truth, what does it profit us to affirm that Mr. Ornstein's staggering collocations of tones are mere " noise," to deny that they are " music "? The fact that those unfortunate æstheticians who so confidently alleged the same thing about Wagner are now known to have been wrong, is enough, in all conscience, to frighten the most redoubtable critic of to-day—is enough, perhaps,

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to scare him into a politic dishonesty: for what if Mr. Ornstein is another Wagner, or at least another Strauss? Yet the prudent commentator will think twice before pretending admiration for that which he does not really like, since it is always possible that Mr. Ornstein is *not* a Wagner, nor yet a Strauss; and how much better it is that we should seem to posterity to have known too little, rather than to have known, in the phrase of the late Artemus Ward, "so much that ain't so"?

So we shall be content with saying that we do not like this *dernier cri* of musical futurism. It seems to us impotent rather than ugly—singularly sterile, singularly dull. But we have heard lately other music, by other "futurists," in which we find a value and interest that we miss in this sonata of Mr. Ornstein's.

We in New York have been treated, during the past few weeks, to a kind of progressive exhibition of futuristic music. We have heard the *Kammersymphonie* of Schönberg, produced by the Society of the Friends of Music, and the *Pélléas et Mélisande* of the Austrian insurgent, played by the Philharmonic; and only the other day the Flonzaleys exhibited to us the *Three Pieces for Quartet* by Igor Stravinsky, which are so new that the ink is barely dry upon the manuscript.

It must be confessed that, after Mr. Ornstein's horrendous sonata, all of this music seems rather tame. Schönberg's *Pélléas*, indeed, is "futuristic" only in spots; the rest of it is desiccated Wagner or diluted Strauss; and in none of it do we find either the slightest suggestion of inspiration or the least intimation of the unique dramatic, poetic, and emotional quality of Maeterlinck's play. Much of the score is trite and banal; its passion is rhetoric; its attempts at pathos and loveliness are insipid and sentimental—higher salon-music. But this was not a typical Schönberg piece—it is fourteen years old. The *Kammersymphonie* (dating from 1906) more nearly represents the real and controversial Schönberg, the formidable ultra-modern of to-day, though it is probably regarded with contempt by its creator. The opening portion of the work seemed to us abortive, and at times imitative of other men's styles; but in the middle section and the close there are pages of subtle and piercing beauty; thoughts that are both new and impressive.

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Both of these compositions, however, would sound conventional if played on the same program with the *Three Pieces for Quartet* produced by the Flonzaleys. This was program-music in little, though Stravinsky, with the coyness displayed by many writers of delineative music, has been amusingly indirect in his manner of announcing the programs of which his pieces are illustrations. He chose to confide them privately to the gentlemen of the Flonzaley Quartet, who in turn confided them to Mr. Daniel Gregory Mason, who in turn confided them to the audience from the platform of Æolian Hall just before the performance. The first piece, it appears, aims to portray a scene in the desert, with a group of peasants singing and dancing to the accompaniment of primitive instruments. The second is a scene in a cathedral, with chanting priests and organ music. The third tells the eternal tragedy of Pierrot, who must perform his tricks though his heart is breaking. These pieces (Stravinsky calls them "Grotesques") are remarkable for their power of imaginative projection. They are almost absurdly short—the first takes less than a minute to perform, the others three or four each; yet within their extraordinarily brief compass, each one succeeds in painting a scene, in establishing a mood. You are in the desert with the peasants; in the cathedral with the chanting priests; you are watching the tragic-comedian, Pierrot. Music that can do this is not to be laughed out of court. Whether, aside from its pictorial and dramatizing vividness, it has value, we do not feel sure. As music *per se*, the first and third movements seem unimportant; but there is in the second movement, at least (the cathedral scene), a touch of something that we almost dare to call beauty.

In all of this writing of Schönberg's and Stravinsky's that we have been considering, there are recognizable links with the great traditions of music, both classic and modern. This, after all, is a very mild kind of "futurism" indeed: if these two æsthetic adventurers would learn the veritable speech of to-morrow, let them go to school to Mr. Ornstein, with his sonata for violin and piano under their arms.

Certainly destiny fights on the side of Bernard Shaw. A few weeks ago Miss Grace George and her associates produced at The Playhouse Mr. Shaw's *Major Barbara*. Now *Major Barbara* was written ten years ago, when there was

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no war—or rather (like Sarah Bernhardt's celebrated baby), "such a little one" that it did not count; yet, hearing the play to-day, you would swear it was written only yesterday, so perfectly does it serve as a commentary on present conditions. In it you will find discussions about the morality of force and the crime of inefficiency (Mr. Shaw calls it "the crime of poverty"); about the munition-manufacturers and the ethics of cannon-making, the sweetness and light that may be disseminated through the agency of gunpowder. You will even find the word "preparedness" (though this, to be sure, occurs in Mr. Shaw's preface). If this is not a case of prophetic inspiration, it must prove that, as we observed, the gods do watch over this fortunate mortal.

Major Barbara has, of course, long been available for Shavian zealots in book-form (it was published in 1907); yet to see it for the first time in the theatre is to encounter almost a new thing—at least that is what happens when you witness the delightfully expert and vivifying production at The Playhouse. Before we saw it on the stage, we were not convinced of its place among the best of Mr. Shaw's performances. We no longer have any doubts. This superb comedy is one of the treasures of the contemporary drama.

It is an inexpugnable tradition of theatrical criticism that Mr. Shaw cannot create character—that his people are mere puppets, mere "mouthpieces" for the author's ideas. Like many other critical traditions, it isn't so. It is almost as absurdly wrong as some of the famous traditions affectionately cherished by critics of music, who are perhaps more passionately attached to fallacious *clichés* than any other order of æsthetic appraisers—you will still find them insisting, with undaunted certainty, that in Wagner the music is the handmaid of the drama; that Debussy "renounced melody," and that he lacks virility; and that all the great composers are dead. And similarly, in the theatre, this droll tradition regarding Mr. Shaw's inability to create character persists, and will of course continue to persist. But let the theatre-goer of virgin mind (if there be any such) honestly ask himself if he believes that "Dolly" Cusins, and Lady Brit, and "Snobby" Price, and Barbara, and Bill Walker, not to speak of the great Undershaft himself, are mere "mouthpieces" for the author's ideas, or if they are authentic and vivid personalities? And then observe with what mastery Shaw has set these char-

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acters in opposition; and what a fine and veritable sense of drama (spiritual and emotional) he gives you at the end of his second act through this tension and conflict of wills. And when you have observed these things, consider the sustained intellectual gusto and power and virtuosity of the whole thing—its eloquence, its wisdom, its poetry, its exquisite irony, its unflagging wit, its many-sided comprehension, its passion, its tenderness (none the less visible for being so elaborately suppressed). Where else in the contemporary theatre will you get as much? And if you *must* have beauty and elevation, why, that too you will find here, if you listen carefully at the close of the last act to the dialogue of Miss George's perfectly achieved Barbara and to Mr. Ernest Lawford's no less perfectly achieved Dolly, alias Euripides.—An inimitable play; a memorable performance.

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

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THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

THE MAN WHO WOULD BE KING[1]

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN

ALL that Benham wanted was to be king of the world. He admitted it frankly to Amanda—Amanda, whose hair was misty dark; whose sweetness and nearness and magic, whose very charm, were making Benham more grimly resolute to break away, to start out upon his quest for kinghood. For already Benham had thought out and judged Amanda. She was not interested in his quest. He had told her that he wanted to "understand the collective life of the world," because ultimately he wanted to control it. It was with amazement and incredulity, with indignation, that she learned of his mad project: learned that he was actually proposing to go off by himself upon this vague, extravagant research; that all her admirable endeavors to make a social position for him in London counted for nothing with him—that he was thinking of himself as separable from her.

It was not strange that Amanda could not understand. Doubtless she remembered that not distant time of their first meeting on the road to South Harting, when Benham encountered her, "a light, tall figure of a girl, brown, flushed, her dark hair tossing loose," as she was trying to intercede in a dog fight. Of course Benham had come to her rescue; and it was not long after this that they had kissed (for it should further be noted that Amanda's voice was "all music," that she had a "glowing face," and an eyebrow "like a quick stroke of a camel's-hair brush"). Benham had given Amanda a copy of Plato's *Republic,* and Amanda had said she would read it through and through,—"she loved such speculative reading"; for Amanda, though the possessor of both passion and pulchritude, was not without

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[1] *The Research Magnificent.* By H. G. Wells. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915.

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intellect. Moreover, she was a free soul, "as clean as the wind." She made Benham feel that "there was a sword in her spirit." So Amanda had read the *Republic;* she not only read it, but she read it very intently and thoughtfully, in the armchair by the lamp, "occasionally turning over a page" —from which it might have been deduced that William Porphyry Benham, with his face of "enthusiastic paleness" and the "glowing darkness" of his eyes, had effected a rather definite reaction in Amanda. And soon after, in the garden of Amanda's home at Harting, concealed by artichokes and apple-trees, Benham had told her that he wanted her, and they had embraced, "alertly furtive" (Amanda had not known about poor little Mrs. Skelmersdale, who "wasn't altogether respectable," but who nevertheless had been to Benham "the most subtle, delightful, and tender of created beings"—though she had amazing streaks of vulgarity. *That* experience had of course been thrilling and delicious . . . "what can compare with the warmth of blood and the sheen of sunlit limbs?" It was true that the quixotic Benham, after he fell in love with Amanda, had had a sudden wild impulse to marry Mrs. Skelmersdale, "in a mood between remorse and self-immolation." But just then a vision of "a sunlit young woman with a leaping stride in her paces had passed across his heavens." So he contented himself with kissing Mrs. Skelmersdale,—this was on a bench in Kensington Gardens,—and they had wept a little together . . . This "sex business" was a damnable business). And so Amanda and Benham had married, and had gone off upon an incomparably wonderful honeymoon, climbing mountains and swimming in the warm waters of legendary lakes and loving each other with extraordinary ardor—"in chestnut wood and olive orchards and flower-starred alps and pine forests and awning-covered boats, and by sunset and moonlight and starshine."

All these things—excepting the Mrs. Skelmersdale episode—must have been in Amanda's thoughts this night as she stood with her husband at the window in the late London twilight, her straight, slender body in the dinner-dress of white and pale green, and the sweet lines of her neck and shoulders, looking (as they should have looked to the great dreamer Benham) singularly lovely and provocative. She had even begun to talk about children, having set herself to cultivate "a philoprogenitive enthusiasm"; for, as she

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told herself, he could not leave her if she were going to have a child. But Benham had said yes, he wanted children, but that he must go round the world none the less, and he must go alone: because she would not be interested in his ambitions and projects—she would be interested only through him.

And then for the first time Amanda learnt precisely what it was that Benham wanted: "I think what I want," he told her quite simply, "is to be king of the world." It does not surprise us to know that Amanda stared at him. There are, he explains to her, no kings but pitiful kings. Dreadful things—miseries, inhumanities, unspeakable tragedies—happen "because the kings love their Amandas and do not care." And what is there that Benham can do about it? Well, he can do his utmost to find out what is wrong with his world, and rule it, and set it right. This kingship, he says, is his life. "It is the very core of me. Much more than you are. I mean to be a king in this earth. *King.* I'm not mad . . . I see the world staggering from misery to misery, and there is little wisdom, less rule, folly, prejudice, limitation . . . and it is my world and I am responsible. As soon as this light comes to you, as soon as your kingship is plain to you, there is no more rest, no peace, no delight, except in work, in service, in utmost effort."

And so Benham set out upon his great labor, his mighty quest, the Research Magnificent, of which all his life he had dreamed. He had had, from a time quite early in life, "an incurable, an almost innate, persuasion that he had to live life nobly and thoroughly." He called this noble and thorough living "the aristocratic life"—by which, you understand from the start, he means something that is not connoted by the thought of peers and princes: "nobility for him was to get something out of his individual existence, a flame, a jewel, a splendor." It was something apart from the conventional life, which is a choice between a merely good life and a merely bad life, between "the bridegrooms of pleasure and the bridegrooms of duty"—the old and perpetual choice. "I say now to you," he told his friend Prothero, "that this life is not good enough for me. I know that there is a better life possible now—a better individual life and a better public life . . . Now this better life is what I mean when I talk of Aristocracy: its way of thinking is Science, its dreaming is Art, its will is the purpose of Mankind."

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To realize this life in all its fulness, to impose this dream upon the consciousness of humanity, was the object of Benham's great journey through the world, which took him far and led him into Odyssean adventures. To establish this republic of mankind, to enter into this unseen kingship, this beneficently aristocratic ruling of the globe, you must, of course, have overcome the three chief limitations of the personal life. These are Fear, Indulgence (elsewhere Benham is satisfied to call it "Sex"), and Jealousy—these restrict the soul of man. Fear and Sex he had already met and overcome. But the greatest of these obstacles is Jealousy, "because it can use pride"; and it was jealousy that brought Benham back to London because of suspicions concerning Amanda. When, taking her by surprise, he found her embracing her lover, Sir Philip Easton, in his own hall, he set forth again upon his quest. It was at Johannesburg, during the Rand outbreak in 1913, that he came to the end of the great quest. Does it matter, he had been saying to his friend White, if we work at something that will take a hundred years or ten thousand years? "It will never come in our lives, White. Not soon enough for that. But when one comes to death, then everything is at one's finger-tips. I can feel that greater world I shall never see as one feels the dawn coming through the last darkness." . . .

It is a curious fact—the significance of which we are not prepared to divulge—that in England, where there is little interest in ideas, the novel of ideas has yet at times come to so superb a flowering. Only Mr. Wells, only an Englishman, could have given us such a thing as *The Research Magnificent*—not even the amazing M. Romain Rolland could have accomplished just this blend of largeness and pungency, shrewdness and imagination, breadth and swiftness, actuality and vision. Here is a book at once epical and intense—the book of a dreamer who is also a seer; a dramatist who is also a lyric poet; a philosopher who has walked among men. Here, in short, is a masterpiece—a book that enlarges and exalts the sense of life, that brings back to us the noble saying of Richter: that there will come a time when man shall awaken from his lofty dreams, and find his dreams still there, "and that nothing has gone save his sleep."

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

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NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN HAY. By William Roscoe Thayer. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915.

It is with exceptionally keen anticipation and with more than the usual degree of that friendly interest and pride which notable men inspire in their fellow countrymen that Americans of all sorts will turn to the *Life and Letters of John Hay*. Here, one feels, is the story of no ordinary character, and of no single or limited achievement. John Hay impressed himself upon the minds of multitudes who had no direct acquaintance with him, as a man both large-minded and versatile—at once a man of culture and a man of affairs, a thorough American and yet a cosmopolitan, a poet and humorist of the type of James Russell Lowell, and also one of the ablest men who have held the office of Secretary of State in this country. His life covers a period of which we are the immediate spiritual heirs. Toward the time just preceding the Civil War most native Americans look back with a peculiarly strong feeling of affinity; the Civil War itself is the great event that has mattered most to the lives of all of us; the period of readjustment following the War is felt almost as a part of our own times, and merges into the more recent years which we are just beginning to see as historic. As interpreting this period, no man's opinions and personal reactions could well be more interesting than John Hay's. Hay was both a keen observer and in no small degree a shaper of events. His field of knowledge and experience was wide. He was too big, too sensitive of soul, and too many-sided, to escape the full effect of the spiritual tendencies of his time; moreover, he was gifted with rare powers of expression.

The expectancy roused by such considerations meets with a full measure of satisfaction in the book which William Roscoe Thayer has given us. Mr. Thayer has had ample material to work with, and he has handled it with wisdom and with appreciation. While refraining from the attempt to write a political history, he is of course obliged to supply a narrative framework for the *Letters* and thus to touch upon political events. In so doing he provides not merely framework, but background; and it is worth remarking that this

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background, instead of being wholly neutral, is a positive element in the interest of the work. Similarly, Mr. Thayer in his interpretation of the personality of John Hay, both as boy and man, by no means confines himself to eulogy or to obvious comment. In general, whether he is dealing with Hay as a private person, as a writer, or as a statesman, he identifies himself, more successfully than most biographers do, with what may be called the normal as distinct from the neutral point of view. The *Life and Letters,* then, is not a work of the sort in which valuable facts and interesting excerpts are set in a matrix of platitudes and colorless narrative.. So far as possible, John Hay is allowed to speak for himself, but where interpretation is needed, it is given with vigor and good sense.

Simply as a life-story, awakening personal interest and sympathy, the *Life and Letters* is remarkably rewarding. The account of John Hay's youth, of his college days, of the time spent at home after his graduation during which he regarded himself as " a poet in exile," is charming in its portrayal of youthful naïveté, enthusiasm, and harmless self-pity. Surely the romance of college life has seldom found more normal and unself-conscious expression than in the young John Hay's letters home. And where may one find any letters to compare with those which he sent from the " barbarous West " to those much venerated poetesses, Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman and Miss Nora Perry?—letters expressed in the true Parnassian dialect, full of the sincere milk of admiration, and revealing a very pretty talent for that sort of thing. The effect of genuineness and of abounding life in John Hay's letters continues after naïveté has given place to intellectual mastery, and even through the later times of heavy responsibility and irksome care.

The part of the life-story which has the strongest appeal is, naturally, the period of Hay's association with Lincoln. In the quotations from Hay's diary and from his letters of this period, there is much that is more or less familiar; but it is all newly told and some of it is substantially new. The story and Hay's notes not only show Lincoln as Hay saw him, but they show Hay as the associate and admirer of Lincoln. The connection is of advantage in both ways.

Undeniably there is a falling off in the interest of the life-story in the time following the death of Lincoln; the lack of the atmosphere of Lincoln's presence is perhaps unduly felt. It is only after a considerable time that the reader begins to realize that John Hay's life has an atmosphere of its own, quite distinct from that of Lincoln —more restless and more modern—and that it is precisely this which gives it its peculiar interest. The letters and bits of narrative which tell of Hay's life as a diplomat, at Paris, at Vienna and at Madrid, of his work as an author, of his experience as a journalist, of his friends, his political opinions, his sentiments and his whims, have the highest intellectual and human value. Unforgettable is Hay's portrayal of Napoleon III—a description as striking as any

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of Carlyle's characterizations and far more convincing. Valuable, too, are his accounts of Spanish political leaders of the period. Hay's friendships, too, especially his relations with the circle of Washington friends which included Henry Adams and Clarence King, are extraordinarily rich in the kind of self-expression that possesses something of universal appeal; the letters of Hay and his friends are in an unusual degree both intimate and publishable. A later series of letters gives a singularly attractive and warmly lifelike picture of Theodore Roosevelt as his friend John Hay saw him. Wit, insight, political comment animated and penetrating, abound in the *Letters,* and in whatever Hay earnestly wrote there is a sense of reality such as lesser minds never reach.

Finally the *Life and Letters* shows us John Hay as a statesman; it reveals his attitude regarding the first Canal treaty and the later revolution in Panama; it gives something of his intimate feelings and opinions in relation to the Chinese contest which culminated in the most brilliant triumph of his career; it proves Hay's early understanding of what Mr. Thayer calls "the German menace." This part of the *Life,* as we said, does not pretend to be political history; but it does show statesmanship in action and it enables us to see the human side of a great statesman.

The most distinctive feature of the *Life and Letters* is, perhaps, the sense it gives of the time-spirit as transmitted through the personality of one man. John Hay's life seems to epitomize the inward feeling of the period through which he lived. It is a period of transition and of disturbed consciousness. Provincial Americanism gives way to cosmopolitan feeling; there appears to be a struggle between Puritan steadfastness and the romantic spirit—a struggle that tended to result in what is sometimes inaccurately called "bad conscience," a sense of inward differences. It may be that in attempting to read such meanings through the life-story of John Hay one generalizes without due warrant or misinterprets the meaning of certain elements in the *Life* itself: certainly Hay's occasional fits of depression and a noticeable casualness in a part of his life should not be overstressed as elements of his character. But the fact that the *Life and Letters* tempts one, far more than do most biographies, to this kind of generalization, testifies to the existence in it of deep personal and social significances.

THE PROBLEM OF KNOWLEDGE. By Douglas Clyde Macintosh, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

The sane view of philosophy and metaphysics would seem to be that these are not bodies of truths that require to be demonstrated before men may believe in the evidence of their senses or permit themselves to have faith in any reality behind appearances; but that

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they are really efforts to draw nearer to a presupposed reality. The effort of philosophy is just an extension of the effort of common sense and of science, and at one time in the evolutions of human intelligence what we now call common sense must have been metaphysical. If this be true, man as a thinker in the ordinary sense is justified in taking for granted the reality presupposed in both the effort of common sense and the effort of philosophy; but man as a philosopher may not presuppose anything. Man as a philosopher is engaged—*pace* the Positivists—in an effort to enlarge the sphere of human knowledge, to attain to a new level of consciousness—an effort just as inevitable and just as legitimate as was that of common sense. It is true that the philosopher leaves his faith behind him—just as the poet or mystic, each in his own way engaged in a similar attempt, seems frequently to leave his five wits behind him;—but this is the necessary condition that results from the very nature of the problem. It would seem unreasonable, then, to allow the skepticism of philosophers to shape our practical faith, for this skepticism is a method rather than a result. But the philosopher himself must be held to his method; in him faith is dogmatism. One's estimate of a philosopher, according to this view, should be based first upon his method and secondarily upon his results. The opinion that his work is useless because no definite results consistent with the method employed can be shown is indefensible.

As a fundamental critique of nearly every philosophical doctrine since Kant, Professor Macintosh's book *The Problem of Knowledge* is admirable. The author's method of inquiry is systematic and clear, his attitude impartial, his logic searching. All theories of knowledge are either idealistic or realistic, and at the same time either dualistic or monistic. The chief combinations of these doctrines in modern times are epistemological dualism and realism, epistemological monism and realism, and epistemological monism and idealism. Each of the main schools thus designated may be divided into smaller groups for purposes of logical analysis. Thus idealists are either logical idealists, mystical idealists or psychological idealists; or, as is often the case, their doctrines partake of more than one of these forms of idealism. Approaching the matter in this methodical fashion the author is able to treat of each philosopher in adequate detail without blurring the outlines of his larger argument.

All forms of idealism Professor Macintosh believes to be vitiated by argument from what R. B. Perry has called "the ego-centre predicament." It is true, as the idealists urge, that "we can never be conscious of any object that is not in the relation of object of consciousness to ourselves as subject"; but, as Mr. Perry and Professor Macintosh point out, "this fact proves nothing at all as to whether there are or not other objects not in conscious relation to ourselves or to any conscious subject." Through every form of idealistic doctrine concerning the nature of knowledge the author

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traces the fundamental fallacy with a perspicuity and fairness that make his work a delight to the logically-minded reader.

The combination of dualism with realism is likewise subjected to a penetrating criticism, with the result that all forms of this doctrine are shown either to end in agnosticism or to avoid such a conclusion only through dogmatism. A philosopher who gives a remarkably satisfactory account of the problem of knowledge, "under the self-imposed limits of epistemological dualism," is Vokelt. Yet Vokelt is obliged to rest his assertion that we possess trans-subjective knowledge upon "intuitive certainty," or upon the "necessities of thought." The very satisfactoriness of Vokelt's discussion thus reveals the unsatisfactoriness of the dualism of his epistemology. Similarly Dr. G. T. Ladd is accused of dogmatism on the ground that "he asserts the fact of ontological knowledge on the basis of the right to know, and despite a critical view that would naturally lead to ontological agnosticism."

With the Neo-realists Professor Macintosh has more in common than with the other schools whose theories he criticises, for the Neo-realists, he believes, are essentially right in maintaining the immediate awareness of independent reality in normal human experience. But they cannot be acquitted, he seeks to prove, of an undue dogmatism with reference to the extent to which that which is presented to consciousness is real independently of consciousness. Ideally this doctrine denies any difference between the object as presented and as independently real, and in so doing it has to maintain that consciousness, as a relation, is absolutely external, or that if it is viewed as a mental activity it produces nothing. In this way the Neo-realists have encountered serious difficulties—difficulties which the author reduces to their simplest and most obvious forms with mathematical precision.

Having thus pointed out the logical predicaments in which almost every possible variety of belief concerning the problem of knowledge involves its defenders, Professor Macintosh advances his own view —the belief that the primary qualities of physical things are independently real and are independently known, but that the secondary qualities, or "sense qualities," are subjective. By means of this view, which he calls "*critical* realistic monism," he keeps clear of the twin undesirables, idealism with its fallacious basis and dualism with its necessary agnosticism, and at the same time he frees himself from the tangle of contradictions with which the Neo-realists have to struggle. The author maintains a similar point of view with regard to the morphology of knowledge, and later, in the part of his treatise which is devoted to the problem of mediate knowledge, develops a view which he calls "critical monism in logical theory"—a view which seems to retain what is good and defensible in current pragmatism while so modifying the pragmatic definition of truth as to render it secure against the imputation of fallacy. In substance,

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Professor Macintosh's revised pragmatic definition of truth is that real truth is practical identity of idea with reality, of predicate with subject, where the practice in question is ultimately satisfactory, as well as the mental instrument which serves it.

The lay mind naturally inclines to philosophers who offer it the assurance of real knowledge, whether this assurance be based upon a fallacious idealism or upon mere dogmatism. What matters it, thinks the lay mind, if Dr. Ladd, for example, abandons in strictness his rôle as a philosopher to give us a dogmatic assurance of the reality of knowledge? In what way is the adoption of Professor Macintosh's relatively simple theory *without dogmatism* preferable to Dr. Ladd's theory *with faith* since neither theory seems capable of proof in the ordinary sense, each being in the nature of a hypothesis entertained because human thought cannot rest satisfied without having an hypothesis of some sort with regard to the problem of knowledge? But the critical philosopher, engaged upon his important special problem, recognizes that there is real progress in the setting forth of a theory of knowledge free from logical fallacy and in no way implying agnosticism. Such a theory Professor Macintosh appears to have constructed.

Is There a Shakespeare Problem? By G. G. Greenwood, M.P. New York: John Lane Company, 1915.

Mr. Greenwood is one of the doughtiest warriors who have engaged in the controversy, originally raised by the Baconians, as to the identity of the Shakespeare of the biographies with the author of the immortal plays. Seven years ago he published a work entitled *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* which called forth replies from Mr. J. M. Robertson and from the late Andrew Lang, of whom the former appears to have attacked Mr. Greenwood's book with a good deal of bitterness while the latter maintained his customary suavity and good-humor. Mr. Greenwood now returns to the fray with the volume entitled *Is There a Shakespeare Problem?*

Since this volume contains practically the whole of Mr. Greenwood's argument in its final form, it is a pity that the author should have felt it necessary to make the work so largely controversial. In the trench-fighting between the author and Mr. Robertson, positions are captured and retaken in a manner that is somewhat confusing and in the end proves wearisome. Though Mr. Greenwood seems to keep his temper and never loses his sense of humor, his sallies of wit hardly compensate for the tedium incident to long arguments about alleged misquotations and misrepresentations.

This unfortunate fact, however, has no real bearing, of course, upon the merits of Mr. Greenwood's argument. And on its merits this argument undoubtedly deserves to be read. It is of distinct advantage that the facts of the Shakespeare problem should be thor-

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oughly reviewed by a sincere agnostic (Mr. Greenwood is *not* a Baconian), and that we should be able to see just how strong a case for skepticism an unorthodox Shakespearian can make out.

Such a view of the evidence Mr. Greenwood supplies. Writing in an apparently sincere desire to discover the truth and without prepossessions, he sums up his case on each of the controversial points in a manner that seems to differ from that of the more skeptical of the orthodox Shakespearians chiefly in a greater vehemence of emphasis and in an apparently greater degree of frankness. Can you really believe, he asks us in effect, in the theory that Shakespeare's legal knowledge was only such as a clever man might readily pick up? Can you credit the legend of the unlearned Shakespeare? Can you believe that all the plays said to have been written before 1598 could have been produced in a matter of six or seven years "by the young man who came to London in 1587 a penniless, unknown, and (as we are surely warranted in saying) uneducated, or very poorly educated, wanderer from a small provincial town?" How far may we accept genius as an explanation of this anomaly? Apart from this question, which lies at the root of the Shakespeare question, can you reconcile the terms of Shakespeare's will with the supposed character of the immortal bard? What can you make of the fact that one of Shakespeare's daughters did not know how to write? How much are you really impressed by the efforts of the orthodox to soften these inconvenient facts and striking improbabilities?

In general Mr. Greenwood seems to argue with fairness and with great logical clearness and grasp. In one case only does he appear to have fallen into anything like a serious argumentative error. In an earlier work than the present, he had written with regard to the thesis that "Shakespeare" was in reality a mask-name or *nom de plume:* "Some, indeed, would see through it and roundly accuse the player of putting forth the works of others as his own. To such he would be a 'Poet-Ape' or an 'Upstart Crow' (Shake-scene) 'beautified with the feathers of other writers.'" To this Mr. Lang not unnaturally replied: "But in this matter Mr. Greenwood *se trompe.* Neither Greene nor Jonson accused 'Shake-scene' or 'Poet-Ape' of putting forth the works of others as his own." To this Mr. Greenwood rejoins that "Shake-scene" or "Poet-Ape" is most certainly accused of pilfering, though the charge is of petty plagiarism and not of stealing whole plays. But if this is the case, one asks, what relation, if any, has the hypothesis that "Shakespeare" was merely a mask-name to the charges of plagiarism made by Greene and Jonson?

But for the most part Mr. Greenwood goes into every question with so much fairness and thoroughness that it is difficult to give an unhesitatingly affirmative answer to his interrogatives. His greatest success lies in the severity with which he puts to the test those soften-

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ing explanations which are applied by the orthodox critics to the improbabilities of the received view. But when the author has to deal with the actual identification by Ben Jonson of the author of the plays with the Stratford player, the case is somewhat different. True, there appear to be curious inconsistencies of attitude in Ben Jonson's attitude toward Shakespeare. But it seems that one clearly attested fact should offset even a great deal of inherent improbability. The truth is that the rôles are now reversed. In discussing this matter it is Mr. Greenwood who has to find softening explanations, and in this business he is hardly so successful as in appraising the similar explanations of others. "I can quite imagine," writes the author, "that even 'honest Ben' might look upon a certain amount of deception of the public in a literary matter as quite venial, and would not trouble himself about it at all." Quite possibly. But the question now is one of fact. What Jonson's motive may have been for such a deception, Mr. Greenwood does not show with any conclusiveness. The supposition that he was keeping the secret of some titled person who did not wish his name connected with the plays is perhaps admissible; but this possibility added to the improbabilities inherent in the orthodox theory is hardly enough to explain away Ben Jonson's very plain declaration.

On the whole Mr. Greenwood argues his case well: he weakens faith in explanations and analogies some of which are really insufficient or irrelevant, and he emphasizes what are really the soundest parts of his own argument. When one finds him ready to confess that the argument from Shakespeare's supposed accurate knowledge of the law is inconclusive, one is inclined to trust his judicial spirit. But it cannot truly be said that he has proved complete agnosticism to be the only rational view of the Shakespeare question. There still remains reason for according belief to the received account, nor may we say that the improbabilities inherent in this account are moral impossibilities.

THE WORLD'S HIGHWAY. By Norman Angell. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1915.

The thesis developed by Mr. Angell in this latest volume of his, *The World's Highway,* was first thought out during the acute phase of the negotiations of the United States with Germany over the question of neutral rights. Specifically, the treatise is an effort to answer the question: "Must America either lamely accept with humiliating inertia a gross violation of her own right and dignity and of the common interest, or else take part in a war which, however successful, will not necessarily in the least degree advance the objects for which she is contending?" Mr. Angell believes that a third course is possible.

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To begin with, the author takes it for granted, apparently, that if the United States entered the war, she would enter it upon the side of the Allies. That she should take up arms in behalf of that Power which was the aggressor in the present struggle—the Power, too, which stands most conspicuously for militarism—is a possibility quite outside the scope of his argument. Yet for the United States to make war upon Germany, in the ordinary sense, would be, Mr. Angell believes, neither wise nor right. In the first place, the results of a defeat of German militarism would not be permanent as regards the realization of the aims which Mr. Angell has at heart; and in the second place, the effort to beat Germany at her own game would result to some extent in "Prussianizing" the neutral Powers through the adoption of German methods. An important element in the case, the author urges, is the fact that British sea-power is inherently less dangerous to the peace of the world than German militarism. Militarism is absolutely a menace; "marinism" is only relatively so. Nevertheless, sea-power without limitation is capable of serious abuse; it is for the interest of the world and especially of neutral states that some check be placed upon it. Mr. Angell's proposition, then, is, in effect, that the United States shall offer to become the economic, though not the military, ally of England in the present war, on condition that England shall practically divest herself of initiative in the use of her sea-power, agreeing to use her navy only in self-defense and, in conjunction with other neutral states, for the purpose of preventing any war in the future. In case of threatened war, the whole influence and economic power of America and of other neutral states, backed by the navy of England, is to be used in restraining the would-be aggressor.

Mr. Angell is logical, as ever. It would seem, indeed, that the aim of securing permanent peace can be fully achieved in no other way than by an agreement among all the great Powers to treat as an outlaw any nation which begins a war with another nation, irrespective of the merits of the dispute between the attacking nation and the one attacked. It would appear, too, that there is value in the suggestion that non-military Powers should contribute to the preservation of peace through the exertion of economic pressure. It is true that the proposed agreement would require the surrender by each of the Powers who joined in it of a part of its independence; and in the case of England the sacrifice demanded is in appearance very great. It may be maintained, however, that no nation—no matter how great its military power—could really suffer less through giving up its right to aggression, and that in the long run, every nation—including England—would be economically as well as morally benefited by the surrender of this right.

It may be suggested, however, that unless it can be shown that a majority of the nations of Europe will have become, as a result of

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the present war, essentially law-abiding in spirit, there is a doubt as to whether such an arrangement as the one Mr. Angell describes could be made to work. To say this is not, as Mr. Angell suggests, merely to adopt an attitude of crude fatalism regarding war. The question is whether there exists a sufficient recognition of the interdependence of nations both moral and economic—that interdependence which in Mr. Angell's opinion makes war an utter futility—to warrant the adoption of a plan that is squarely founded upon this principle.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

MR. WORTHINGTON'S VIEWS

SIR,—Mr. Worthington's colloquy with his nephew in your November number was excellent, especially his parting advice, "Sell your bonds, but tell no lies."

That our bankers should urge the people to subscribe for the half billion bonds and thus show their patriotism recalls fifty years ago, when Jay Cooke was disposing of all of the national bonds at one-half of one per cent commission and explaining in an ingenious tract that "A National Debt is a National Blessing."

Our eminent bankers may be trusted to look out keenly for their own interests, but they should no more be entrusted with national finance than should churchmen be entrusted with national policies or manufacturers with the tariff.

Mr. W. is better posted on finance than on food products; doubtless prudent in his West India business, he is probably not a close buyer when buying household supplies—flour, for example. He expects to see wheat at one dollar a bushel and flour at $10 a barrel; he need not be apprehensive, for wheat must sell at $2 before the market price of flour is $10—4½ bushels of wheat weigh 270 pounds, and at one dollar a bushel come to $4.50. These 270 pounds make 196 pounds flour (which should sell for about $4.50) and 74 pounds bran and middling, worth $25 a ton, or 92 cents—the miller thus gets 92 cents for grinding, etc.

On November 6 the New York market report quoted No. 2 Red at $1.25 per bushel and flour at $5.50 per barrel. This works out as follows: 4½ bushels cost $5.62, the resulting barrel of flour brings in $5.50 and 92 cents for the by-product, or $6.42, leaving 82 cents for the miller.

Before farm machinery came into use, say seventy-five or eighty years ago, the price of wheat in Rochester, the "Flour City," as it was then called, was $1.50 a bushel. Five bushels, or 300 pounds, of wheat were then required to make one barrel of flour, which sold for about $7.50.

Wages to laborers were 50 cents a day, but we had a low tariff, clothing and meat were cheap, rents and taxes were low, there were no agitators and few foreigners—no Greeks nor Italians. Contentment was general, as there was little to spend money for.

Mr. W. is doubtless a protectionist; he fears that farmers may make excessive profits—they may get one dollar a bushel for wheat; it does not occur to him that one dollar a bushel is a small return to the man who owns, or who pays rent for, a farm—who plows, harrows, sows the seed, reaps the grain, threshes it, and pays the freight to market.

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The Government ought to pay the farmer a bounty whenever wheat falls below a dollar: the farmer must pay anywhere from ten to sixty per cent more than he ought for everything made by our manufacturers, and any just and thoughtful man must admit the propriety of paying the farmer a bounty on his products to put him on all fours with the manufacturer.

Our manufacturers under our iniquitous tariff are enabled to sell their wares in foreign markets for one-third less than they get from their misguided fellow-citizens who allow themselves to be deceived by the specious arguments of the protectionists. It is unlikely that we shall ever have lawmakers in Washington who will care for anything excepting the interests of those who furnish the money to carry elections.

On page 657 Mr. Worthington says, "the very people whose ancestors gave unsparingly of life and treasure to make America, not First perhaps, but Free." Is not this as far beside the mark as the bankers saying that patriotism demands that we subscribe to the foreign loan? Do we believe that the ministers of Louis XVI. were so enamored of republican institutions that France went to war out of sympathy for us? Was it not rather to injure England? Spain also declared war against England; certain it is that no one ever suspected Spain of altruism.

Spain and Holland bore no good will to England—the great English pirates, Morgan, Drake, Hawkins, and Sir Walter Raleigh, sailed the Spanish Main in peace and war to plunder the Spanish galleons—they even entered harbors in Spain for the purpose.

We agreed to make peace only in concert with France and Spain. Had we adhered to this agreement, at the declaration of peace we should have been obliged to content ourselves with the Alleghanies for our western boundary. France would have recovered the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi; Spain would have got the southern part of Georgia.

The British Ministry sent an obscure agent—a Mr. Oswald—to discuss peace with the American Commissioners, Franklin, Jay, Adams, and Laurens; the French Court did not suspect the negotiations that were going forward; Mr. Oswald returned to London, and a merchant—a Mr. Hartley—went to Paris with full powers.

The astute Franklin, who recommended honesty—not on moral grounds, but as the best policy (see his writings)—treated the tripartite agreement as a "scrap of paper," and, regardless of our obligations to the French, made the best bargain that he could.

The Count de Vergennes accepted the situation gracefully when he found that it was *un fait accompli*.

ROBT. W. LEONARD.

MOUNT KISCO, N. Y.

"CRUDE FACTS" AND "PLAIN FAKES"

SIR,—In your November issue, referring to the Anglo-French loan, you say: "The English have no illusions on this score. Listen to the *Spectator* of October 2:

"The peculiarity of the present loan resides solely in the political circumstance in which it is contracted. Two belligerent countries are borrowing from a neutral to finance their operations of war. There is no escape from that crude fact."

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Now what the *Spectator* here calls "a crude fact" is just a plain fake. The *Spectator*, along with people on both sides of the water, are being grossly deceived in the matter. The truth is that about every dollar which goes into this loan belongs to European capitalists. It is money which they received in former years in settlement of our invisible debts for internal dues, immigrants' remittances, tourists' expenses, ocean freights, etc.

An average estimate by prominent bankers published in the *Wall Street Journal* (1913) puts these debts at $1,400,000,000. Our yearly trade balance, which, before 1914, averaged $500,000,000, reduces this deficit to $900,000,000. One part of this deficit is invested in our stocks and properties. Another part is kept in the form of gold in the banks of J. P. Morgan, Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and other international bankers, who invest part of it temporarily in short loans and loans to banks, and on the Stock Exchange. These loans have been renewed and carried over year after year until, at the opening of the war, they had reached an enormous total. This is the money which is now being invested in the foreign loan. Hence it is just as much a loan of European capital to European Governments as if it was floated in London and Paris. The few private individuals here who may take some of the bonds are British and French citizens temporarily residing here.

For months before the loan was floated here financial critics claimed that the decline of foreign exchange, from 4.86 to around 4.70 and lower, proved that England was unable to pay her debts and was in danger of bankruptcy. Dr. E. E. Pratt, chief of the Bureau of Commerce, claimed that Europe owed us $900,000,000. Speaking to a representative of the Brooklyn *Eagle* (September 12), a member of the Morgan firm said:

> This talk that England is going bankrupt because of the present condition of foreign exchange is simply ridiculous. As a matter of fact, Great Britain has financed her war for one year ahead. Her bills for the next twelve months are mostly paid. "Well then," queried the reporter, "to what do you attribute the present attitude of a great number of people who ought to understand the situation?" "I attribute it to hysteria: the same kind of hysteria that made people go about howling calamity at the beginning of the war when we had to pay $7 for a pound sterling."

Now the "people" who indulged in this "ridiculous talk" and "hysteria" include nearly every financial critic on the New York and London newspapers, not forgetting the *Spectator*. The fact that England has paid her war bills for twelve months ahead proves that they were grossly ignorant of the international money situation. They should publicly challenge this statement in the *Eagle*. If they do not, the public will accuse them of exploiting a financial fake.

W. H. ALLEN.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

THE NOVEMBER EDITORIALS

SIR,—Your editorials in the November issue are masterful and should be read by every American citizen, whether he may have a hyphen in his nationality or not.

DOUGLAS B. CRANE,
Member of Advisory Board of the American Legion.

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

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RAILWAY MAIL PAY—IS IT EXCESSIVE?

[We are privileged to print the following correspondence between Mr. Ralph Peters, President of the Long Island Railroad and Chairman of the Committee on Railway Mail Pay, and Mr. Henry A. Castle, author of the article, "The Post Office and Socialism," published in a recent issue of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, as being of general interest to our readers.

—EDITOR.]

THE RAILWAY SIDE

MR. HENRY A. CASTLE:

SIR,—I have read with much interest your article in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, entitled, "The Post Office and Socialism." I wish to congratulate you upon an illuminating and instructive discussion. Your views as to the original and proper scope of the postal service—namely, the diffusion of written and printed intelligence—and as to the consequences attendant upon the expansion of this service into a commercial venture of the Government, will no doubt make a profound impression upon thinking people.

In the midst of your article, however, there are one or two references to the mail pay of the railroads which I feel it my duty to correct, believing that in these instances—which, though incidental to the main theme of your argument, are nevertheless fundamentally of great importance—you have been obliged to reason from inadequate information.

In the course of your article you say:

> "Mail transportation rates need reform. Making due allowance for exaggeration, it is probable that of the $52,000,000 now annually paid to the railroads alone for carrying our mail, nearly one-third could be saved by an honorable and fair readjustment which the railroads would accept."

Now, a sweeping reduction in railway mail pay could be justified only on the assumption that the present compensation is excessive. But is it? I cannot, of course, in the limits of a letter, attempt to argue the question statistically on its merits, but I can, at least, cite the conclusions of a number of eminent authorities who have given careful and even profound study to the subject.

In August, 1914, the Joint Congressional Committee on Railway Mail Pay submitted its report. That Committee, after several years of investigation and the taking of 1,500 printed pages of testimony from the Post Office Department and the railroads, recommended a system of rates which, in the Committee's belief, would have *increased* railway mail pay about $3,000,000 per year. The Committee said:

"We believe our suggested rates are certainly not too high from a Governmental standpoint, though they may be too low from a railroad standpoint."

The Joint Congressional Committee, bi-partisan in its composition, was appointed in August, 1912, the members being: Senators—Jonathan Bourne, Jr., of Oregon, Chairman; Harry A. Richardson, of Delaware; John H. Bankhead, of Alabama. Representatives—James T. Lloyd, of Missouri; William E. Tuttle, of New Jersey; John W. Weeks, of Massachusetts. Mr. Weeks has since been elected to the Senate.

The conclusions of this Joint Congressional Committee are the most recent and authoritative that we have on this subject, and these conclusions,

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as I have pointed out, were that railway mail pay should in fairness not be reduced, but should be increased.

I may add that the railroads took the figures submitted by the Post Office Department during the hearings before the Joint Congressional Committee and, after analyzing them according to the recognized methods of apportioning transportation costs, showed that these very figures indicated that the railroads, far from being overpaid, were actually underpaid by something like $15,000,000 annually.

Almost as recent as the findings of the Joint Congressional Committee is the pronouncement of Mr. Louis D. Brandeis while acting as Special Counsel to the Interstate Commerce Commission in the Five Per Cent. Advance Freight Rate Case. Mr. Brandeis, in May, 1914, reported to the Commission:

"It seems clear that the railway mail service is at present unremunerative to the carriers."

In 1913 Dr. M. O. Lorenz, Associate Statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, calculated that the railroads were underpaid by certainly more than $5,000,000 per year for carrying the mails. He declined to commit himself as to how much more.

In 1901 the Wolcott-Loud Commission—another specially appointed Congressional Committee which made a most painstaking inquiry—in its report to Congress summed up its conclusions as follows:

"We are of the opinion that the prices now paid to the railroad companies for the transportation of the mails are not excessive, and recommend that no reduction thereof be made."

These four investigations are the only impartial inquiries into the subject of railway mail pay that have been made in many years. You will note that in three cases the investigators found that the railroads were paid too little, and in the fourth case at least not too much.

Of course, I do not know upon what premises you based your conclusion that railway mail pay could be equitably reduced some $17,000,000 per year, but I have recited the findings of the acknowledged authorities who have given the subject special study, and you will observe that their conclusions are unanimously and emphatically the reverse.

Despite the Wolcott-Loud Commission's recommendations of fourteen years ago, Congress has since, without further inquiry, twice reduced the rates of pay by law, and a former Postmaster General, by the "Divisor Order" of 1907, made a further heavy reduction by mere executive action. Meanwhile, also, the parcel post has been established, and to date no provisions have been made to compensate the railroads adequately for the additional service which its inauguration and the subsequent great extensions of its scope have entailed.

In discussing the proposals for further extensions of the parcel post you say that "no suggestion is ever made as to reducing the pay to the railroads for carrying the parcels to 55 per cent. of the postal receipts, which is the English rate."

The question whether such a basis of compensation would be fair or not necessarily depends upon what rates of postage are established, and upon the general character of the rate scheme. A division of receipts, under flat rates of postage for all hauls, might not be inequitable in Great Britain, where the hauls are short; but would it be in this country, where hauls of

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3,000 miles are possible and would be largely availed of under flat postage rates?

The railroads should be justly paid for the service required of them. This principle, we maintain, holds no matter what theories may be entertained regarding postage rates. If for any reason it should be judged wise public policy to make postage rates so low as to amount to subsidies to the parcel post shippers, the expense of the subsidy should be paid out of the general funds of the nation. It cannot justly be laid upon a limited portion of the citizens—namely, those who have invested their savings in railroad properties.

Yet the inference of your comment, which I have quoted, is that while you are opposed to the subsidy basis for the parcel post, nevertheless if the Post Office Department *does* establish the parcel post upon that basis, it might go a step farther and shift some or all of the loss to the railroads. Our position is that such a step would be an unwarranted discrimination against a portion of the people, and even, to some extent, a confiscation of their property.

You are apparently under the impression that the railroads are being too liberally paid for parcel post transportation. The true situation is that in the fiscal year recently closed, as nearly as can be estimated, the railroads carried at least 50 per cent. of the parcel post without any compensation at all. This is one of the consequences of the "quadrennial weighing" system of readjusting railway mail pay. Another consequence has been that during the first six months after the inauguration of the parcel post the railroads carried it all—literally every package—without one cent of payment.

Just what proportion of the postage receipts the railroads are now receiving for parcel post transportation is a thing that no one knows, owing to the abolition, on July 1, 1913, of the use of distinctive parcel post stamps—an act of the Post Office Department which the Bristow Parcel Post Committee, in its recent report to Congress, declared had "thrown the whole accounting system into complete confusion." I may say, however, that those most familiar with the subject entertain no doubt that our American railroads are getting very much less than the British 55 per cent. rate.

I have written to you at length upon this subject because, in view of its probable agitation in Congress, we are most anxious that everyone interested shall, as nearly as possible, be placed in possession of the facts and understand the basis of the railroads' claims.

Very truly yours,
RALPH PETERS.

NEW YORK CITY.

THE POSTAL SIDE

HON. RALPH PETERS:

SIR,—The allusions to railroads in my paper in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW were, as you justly observe, purely incidental, also largely hypothetical. Nevertheless, it is proper for me to reply briefly to your courteous request for the basis of my suggestions as to mail transportation charges. I am not a transportation expert. I am advised as to the reports you cite favorable to the contentions of the railroads—also as to the sometimes bitter and exaggerated attacks thereon. I have, as a student of postal affairs, tried to keep an open mind on the subject. Hence the mild tenor of the comment.

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I confess, however, to a long-standing impression that the current compensation to railroads for carrying the mail is excessive. It will be easier to explain that impression than fully to justify it. It never became my official duty to investigate it. Congress fixes the rate and the Post Office Department certifies the service performed to the Auditor, an official of the Treasury Department, whose only function is to apply the law to such certified service, and issue warrants therefor. But for nearly seven years, as the head of that bureau, with 600 clerks charged with postal accounting, and located in the Post Office building at Washington, my office was on the same floor with that of the Postmaster General, and I was in hourly conference with the department officials on the financial relations of all divisions of the service. Hence, I naturally gained some insight as to administrative matters with which I had no official concern, and formed opinions thereon.

I soon found that the Department specialists, who made the computations as to compensation, agreed in the view that those rates could be reduced one-third to one-half. I found, also, that all important railroads in the country maintained in Washington able attorneys to look after mail interests, each working zealously to increase his road's mail tonnage, alleging shorter distances, faster trains, special facilities, etc., as against competing lines; the fair assumption being that the business is profitable. I further found that there were frequent charges against certain railroads of fraudulently padding their mail during the quadrennial weighing period, one flagrant case whereof I was the personal discoverer. I heard my friend, Col. W. P. Clough, Vice-President of the Northern Pacific, argue ably fifteen years ago in favor of compensation based on space occupied instead of on weight, which seemed to promise economies, or at least an elimination of abuses.

These are some of the explanations of, not apologies for, my incidental and hypothetical allusions to the railroads. I have neither the mission, the inclination, nor the ability to argue the various points you present, all admittedly foreign to the main purpose of my writing. The railroads ought to be fairly, not excessively, compensated for carrying the mails. Their service includes the free transportation of postal clerks, agents and inspectors, aggregating a large sum annually, no account of which is kept. Per contra, it involves a certain indefinite but valuable protection to railroad property, in case of attempted mob violence, which should not be overlooked.

The railroads must be fairly compensated. They are justified in resisting unjust reductions, and have a paramount incentive against unjust demands for increase, in that the prevalent idea that they are overpaid is a leading factor in the socialistic outcry for Government ownership and operation.

I did not refer to the flat rates of the British parcel post for the purpose of commending them, but the reverse. They would be absurd with our longer distances and infinite complications. As I understand it, the British flat rate for this postage is $2 per hundred pounds, out of which they pay the railroads $1.10. But the parcels are hauled in carload lots, loaded and unloaded by post office employees, and treated as freight. If this be true, it is a very different thing from our fifty-mile-an-hour schedule and our transcontinental distances. Yet the mail-order houses and their champions, including the expert just mentioned, boldly avow the English charge on

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parcels as their objective, without mention of freight train service and lower pay therefor.

Under the quadrennial weighing system, the railroads in certain sections must wait from one to four years, unless relieved by Congress, before getting full pay for the vastly increased mail tonnage of the so-called parcels post. This fact only emphasizes my argument as to the coming expense of this innovation, and the ruinous consequences of its relegation to the British revenue basis with the present rates of expenditure. We have no authentic estimate of the cost, per hundred, of carrying our mail an average distance, because we have not, to my knowledge, any reliable statement of the total weight of our mail. Until more correct figures are given we may perhaps accept the old approximate figure of eight cents a pound. To collect, transport, and deliver the multiplied millions of tons of parcels, under increasingly liberal rules as to size and weight, at the proposed British flat rate of postage—two cents a pound—and pay out therefor four times that amount: this is one of the Barmecide feasts to which state socialism coolly invites us—a fit prelude to postal railways, Government laundries, and Treasury notes based on deposits of short-ribs, hoop-poles, and wheat screenings.

My REVIEW paper was condensed to the minimum, and this letter is already too long. A volume would be needed to elaborate the theme. If proof is required that a possible peril lies in the fact that private interests as well as official agencies struggle with the postal service and with each other for an increasing share of its benefits, the roster of your Committee on Railway Mail Pay, consisting of nine Presidents and Vice-Presidents of leading railroad corporations, supplies it. Your organization and activities are legitimate, but symptomatic. You urge larger railway pay—intelligently and no doubt honestly, from your point of view. Most classes of postal employees in strong associations numbering from 5,000 to 50,000 each, urge larger salaries and retirement pensions—honestly, from their point of view. Postal savings depositors are preparing to organize for higher rates of interest. Various business or social schemes are on foot for reduction of postage. Some of these several demands are meritorious, but all are clamorous, and many will be successful without strict regard to merit. With constantly enlarging functions, with reduced revenues and increased expenditures in many directions—where can the end be, short of readjustment or chaos?

To sum up: My statement that railway mail pay needs reform (readjustment) stands; my expressed supposition that the railroads would consent to a reduction of transportation rates seems to be negatived by the formation of your Committee to oppose such reduction; the natural inference that those rates are excessive is ably combatted by your presentation; but the vital postulate that Post Office socialism is a menacing peril to the Republic stands unchallenged, except by socialists. Q. E. D.

Respectfully yours,

HENRY A. CASTLE.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

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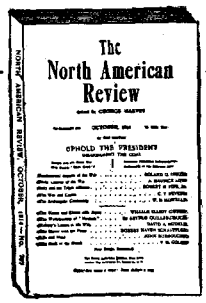

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

RICHARD OLNEY,
Secretary of State in President Cleveland's Cabinet, had previously acted as Attorney-General of the United States, and his distinguished services in both capacities are a matter of history. He now resides in Boston.

FRANK WILLIAM TAUSSIG,
Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University, has been connected with that institution almost continuously since his undergraduate days. He is the author of numerous volumes on economic subjects, which include *Tariff History of the United States, Wages and Capital* and *Principles of Economics.*

RICHARD STOCKTON, JR.,
is a captain in the Second New Jersey Infantry and instructor in Military Science at the Bordentown Military Institute. He is a gold medalist of the Military Service Institution, the only officer not of the Regular Army to be awarded that prize. He is a frequent contributor to the service publications and is the author of *The Guardsman's Handbook* and other volumes.

REAR-ADMIRAL BRADLEY A. FISKE, U. S. N.,
graduated from the Naval Academy in 1874 and was promoted to his present rank in 1911. His notable services to the Navy include many inventions, the most important being the naval telescope sight which has been adopted by all the navies and has promoted greater accuracy in naval gunnery. Admiral Fiske is the author of *Electricity in Theory and Practice* and *War Time in Manila.*

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Charles Johnston
was born at Ballykilbeg, County Down, Ireland, in 1867. He is distinguished as an expert student of world-politics, and has published numerous books, philosophical and historical.

Demetrius C. Boulger
has paid much attention to the foreign interests of Great Britain and has also closely studied military questions, particularly those bearing upon the French frontiers and the position of Belgium. Among the works he has published may be mentioned *England and Russia in Central Asia, The History of China,* and *Central Asian Questions.*

E. G. Nourse
received his A.B. degree from Cornell University and his Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago. He has specialized in rural economics and is at present head of the Department of Economics of the University of Arkansas.

L. Ames Brown
is a journalist of Washington, D. C., and a correspondent for a number of the important dailies. The University of North Carolina conferred the degree of Master of Arts upon him in recognition of his work.

Henry Rutgers Marshall,
the well-known architect and lecturer on aesthetics, is a native of New York City. He has written numerous volumes dealing with these and allied subjects, among which are *Aesthetic Principles; Instinct and Reason,* and *Consciousness.*

Wilfrid Wilson Gibson,
the English poet, has made for himself a name on both sides of the Atlantic. His volumes of verse, which are numerous, include *The Queen's Vigil, Daily Bread, Womenkind, Thoroughfares,* and *Borderlands.*

Edith Wyatt,
a native of Chicago, Illinois, is a graduate of Bryn Mawr College. She is a frequent contributor to the magazines and is the author of *Every One His Own Way, True Love,* and *Making Both Ends Meet.*

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THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT OFFERED £10,000 TO SUPPRESS THE SERIES OF CARTOONS OF WHICH THE FOLLOWING ARE A PART, BUT WITHOUT AVAIL. THE ARTIST, LOUIS RAEMAEKERS, IS A YOUNG DUTCH JOURNALIST, WHOSE WORK WAS NOT WELL-KNOWN UNTIL THESE STRIKING PICTURES WERE PUBLISHED IN HOLLAND. THEY APPEARED FIRST IN THE "TELEGRAAF" AND "AMSTERDAMMER," AND LATER WERE ASSEMBLED UNDER THE GENERAL TITLE, "HET TOPPUNT DER BESCHAVING" (THE PINNACLE OF CIVILIZATION) AND ISSUED BY THE PUBLISHING COMPANY "ELSEVIER," AMSTERDAM, 1915.

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"GOD PUNISH ITALY!"

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"WHY DID SHE NOT YIELD? THEY WOULD HAVE PAID, TO BE SURE!"

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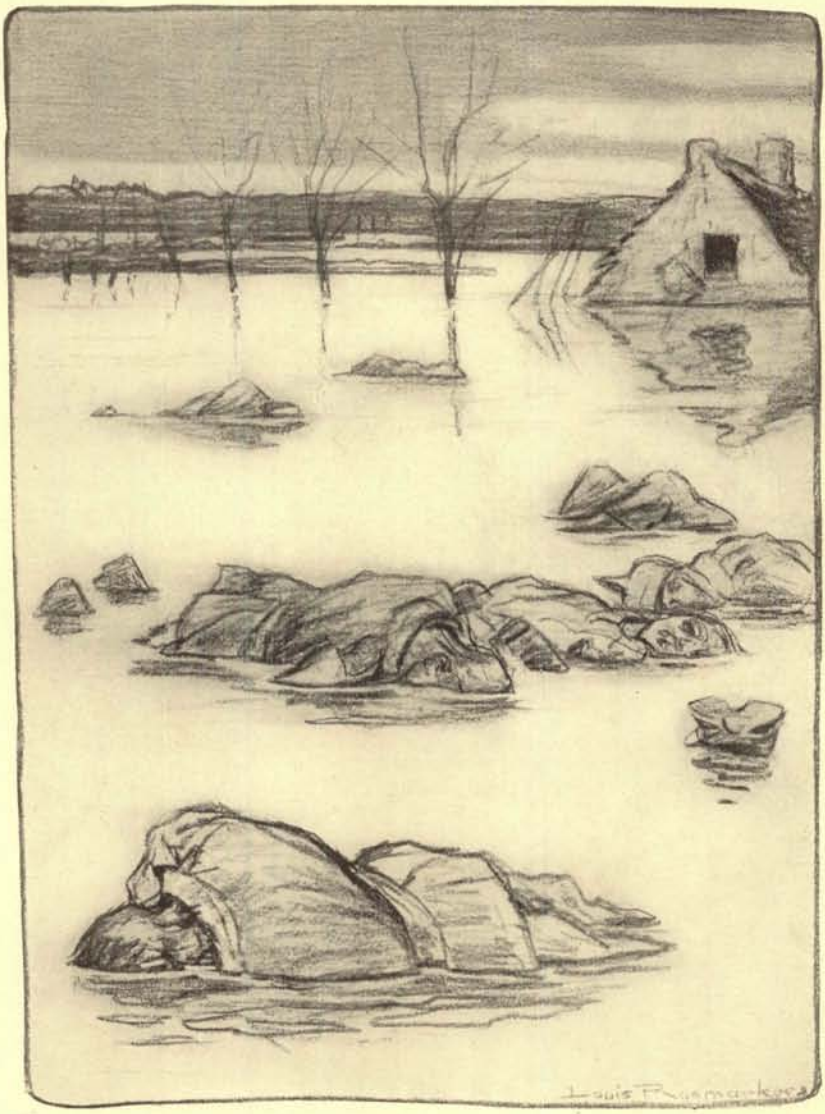

ON THE WAY TO CALAIS

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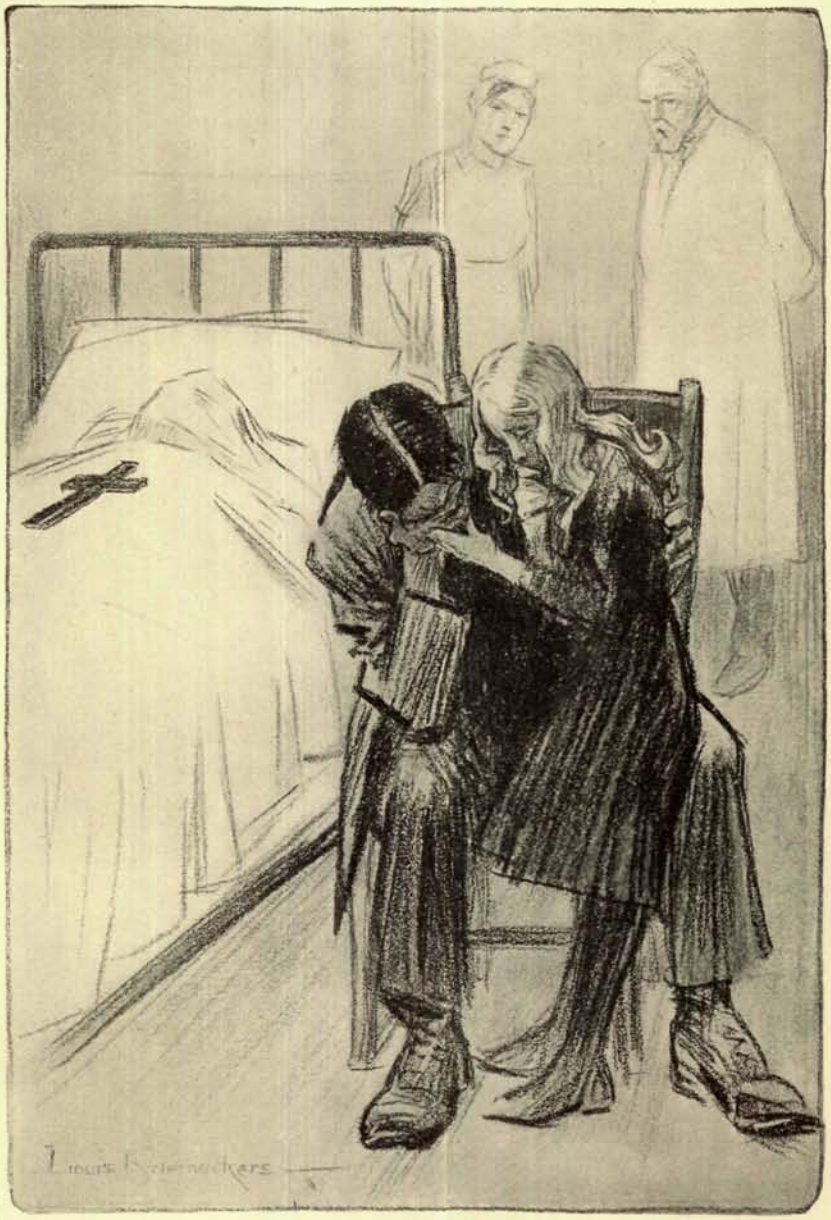

"BUT MOTHER HAD DONE NOTHING WRONG, HAD SHE, DADDY?"

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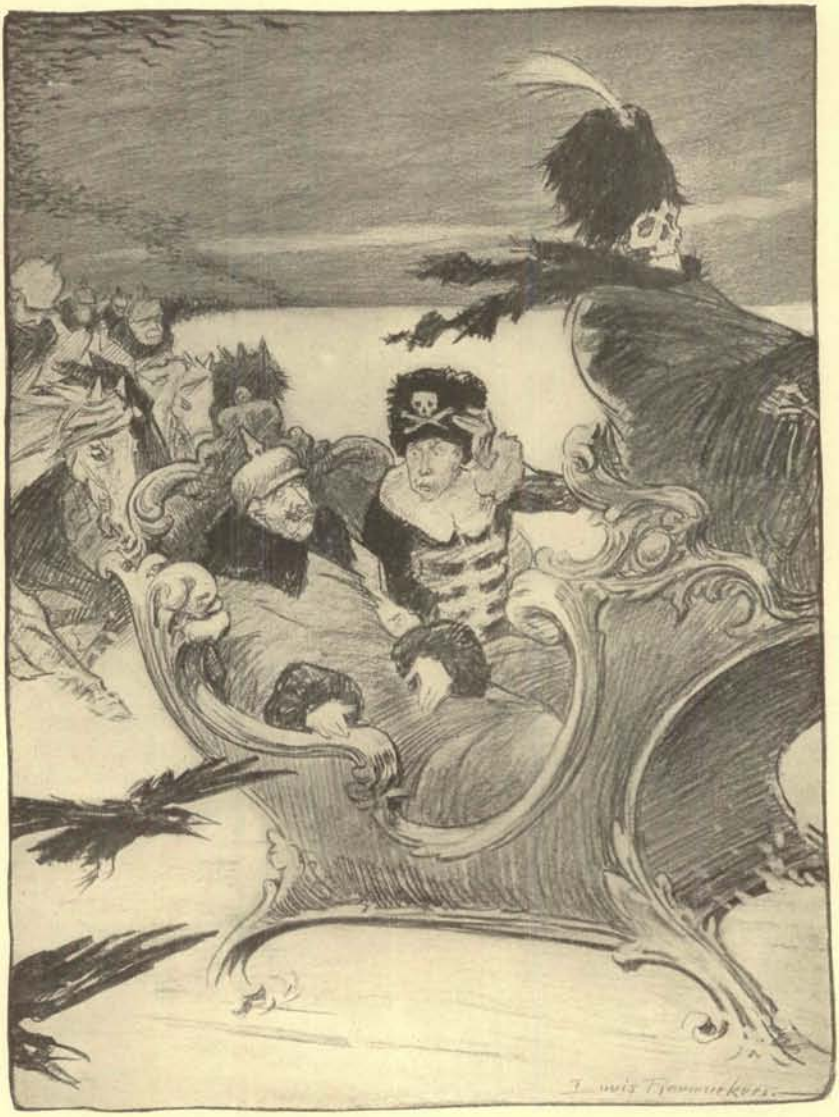

"IS IT STILL A LONG WAY TO BERESINA?"

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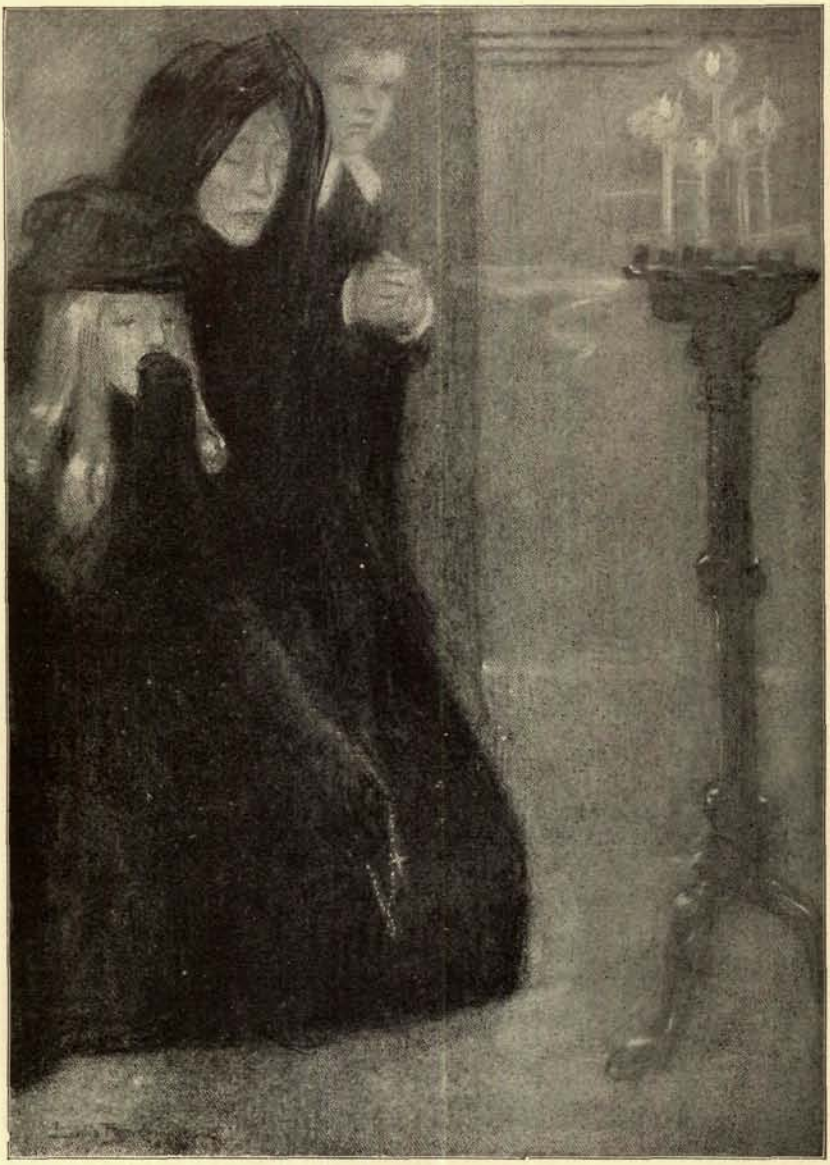

"OUR FATHER WHICH ART IN HEAVEN"

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"WELL, HAVE YOU NEARLY DONE?"

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